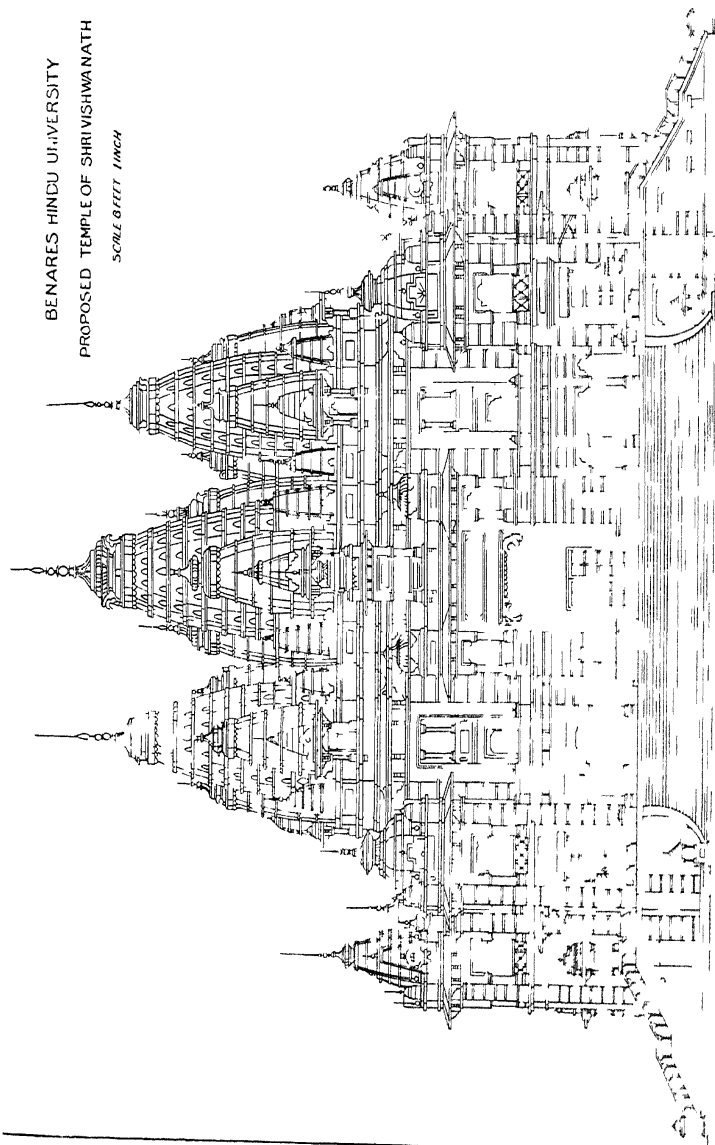


BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

PROPOSED TEMPLE OF SHRIVISHWANATH

SCALE 8 FEET 1 INCH



FRONT ELEVATION

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

1916-1942

SILVER JUBILEE EDITION

EDITED BY

V. A. SUNDARAM



1942

Printed by
Rameshwar Pathak
The Tara Printing Works,
Benares City.

“उत्थातव्यं जागृतव्यं योक्तव्यं भूतिकर्मसु ।
भविष्यतीत्येव मनः कृत्वा सततमव्यथैः ॥” वेदव्यासः ।

“Awake, arise and engage yourselves unceasingly and
dauntlessly in works leading to prosperity, with the firm
faith that success shall crown your endeavour.

—*Vedavyasa*

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FOREWORD

As Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, and as one who has been closely associated with it from the time the scheme was first mooted, I have been asked to contribute a foreword to this book. I do so with great pleasure.

The editor has rendered a service to the University by compiling this record of its birth and its truly remarkable and rapid development to a national institution, embracing wide fields of study, and some notable pronouncements by scholars and patrons on its work.

To few men is it given to conceive great and noble things for the benefit of their fellowmen; to fewer still is given the good fortune to see their noble conceptions nobly realised by their own efforts. Of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the revered founder of this University, it can be truly said that he not only had the vision of dedicating a new temple to Saraswati in the ancient and sacred city of Benares, but also the tenacity of purpose to achieve its material realisation, and within his own life-time to see it become the great seat of learning that it is today.

To this veteran statesman and his unflagging zeal and indefatigable energy in a very

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especial measure, as also to those honoured names of an earlier generation, who, when the University was in its infancy, nurtured it with work and money, India owes a deep debt of gratitude.

The object of the Hindu University is to create a synthesis of the East and the West; to assimilate the scientific knowledge and methods of Europe with the ancient wisdom and culture of the Hindus; to create, in fact, a new and inclusive civilization, which, while preserving the best in the Hindu tradition, welcomes the new knowledge which gives to Europe its material strength. How far the University has been able to achieve this noble object in this comparatively short period of twenty years may be seen from the pages of this book.

It has been rightly said that learning cannot be partitioned by artificial walls. Although designated "The Benares Hindu University," it is a catholic institution. With its freeships, stipends and general scholarships of merit, the University is open to persons of all classes, castes and creeds, and of both sexes; and secular branches of Samskrit learning are also taught without restriction of caste or creed.

The marked success already attained in

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the realization of the scheme has been made possible by the generous financial support given to this great University by the Ruling Princes of India, who have also munificently endowed the different branches of learning in which it seeks to specialize. More, no doubt, remains to be done; and there is every reason to hope that by the continued support of the Government of India, the States and the people of British India, the Hindu University will continue to grow in stature and usefulness and occupy a place of honour among the Universities of the world.

Bikaner,

GANGA SINGH

The 22nd July 1936.

Maharajah of Bikaner

Benares Hindu University.

I appeal to every Indian Prince and peasant to contribute his or her quota to the building up of this National Temple of learning. I hope they will respond generously to this appeal and help the University to continue its vigorous growth so that it may soon rank among the best Universities of the world and become an ever-increasing source of pride to the Motherland and in a special degree to the great Community whose honour and name it bears.

Madan Mohan Malaviya

Kashi,

17th Jan. 1936.

PREFACE

Out in the fair fields of Nalagram facing the golden sunrise and the holy Ganga stands a modest marble stone with the following inscription :—

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

This Foundation Stone was laid

By H. E. The Right Honorable Charles
Baron Hardinge of Penshurst,

P. C., G. C. B., G. M. S. I., G. C. M. G.,
G. M. I. E., G. C. V. O., I. S. O.,

Viceroy & Governor-General of India.
February 4, 1916.

In a cavity under that marble stone is a large copper plate with another inscription which reads as follows :—

“The Universal Spirit beheld the Ancient Law of Righteous Living oppressed and cast into disorder by the rush of Time, and the Family of the Children of Manu, dwelling on

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this Earth, disorganized and unsettled, when five thousand years of the age of Kali had passed over the land of Bharata-varsha.

“Then Blessed Mercy arose in the Supreme Mind and Auspicious Will, from which emanate great glories, to plant anew the seed of renovation of that Ancient Law and Organization on the holy soil of Kashi, on the banks of the sacred stream of Ganga.

“And the Creator and Benefactor of the World, the Universal Soul moving in all, brought together His Children of the East and of the West, and induced their minds to that unanimity which meaneth good and right understanding, and directed them to raise this Home of Universal Learning in the Capital Town of the Lord of the Universe.

“The prime instrument of the Divine Will in this work was the Malaviya Brahmana, Madana Mohana, lover of his motherland. Unto him the Lord gave the gift of speech, and awakened India with his voice, and induced the leaders and the rulers of the people unto this end.

“And other instruments also the Supreme fashioned for His purpose—the high-minded and valiant Ganga Simha, Ruler of Bikaner ; the noble Rameshwara Simha, lord of the lands of

PREFACE

Darbhangha, the President of the Assembly of Workers and bringer to it of honour; the wise counsellor, Sundar Lal, learned in the law, the storer of the treasures and the keeper of the secrets; and sages like Guru Dasa and Rasa Vihari and Aditya Rama, and also the lady Vasanti of the silver tongue, Elders of the land full of tenderness for the younger generation, and other Bhagawad Dasas of the Lord served in many ways.

“And so in the time when George V, son of Edward VII, and grandson of the great Queen Victoria was Overlord of the land of Bharata, the Supreme Spirit moved the Rulers of Mewar, Kashi, Kashmir, Mysore, Alwar, Kotah, Jaipur, Indore, Jodhpur, Kapurthala, Nabha, Gwalior, and many other good-hearted men, of noble and gentle birth and of high and low degree, to help in the work of preserving the vital Seed of all Religions, for future great growth and development anew, and for the enactment of the Dramas of ever new Civilizations which infinitesimally express His boundless Glories. And He inspired the Emperor George’s excellent, great-souled and courageous Viceregent in India, Lord Hardinge, a true Elder of the people, and dear to their hearts, to lay the Foundation of this Home of all Learning.

“At an auspicious moment, near noon, on

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Friday, the 1st day of the light-half of Magha, in the Vikrama Year 1972, this Foundation is laid by the hand of the good-hearted Viceroy of the King; may this Institution prosper, therefore, and grow and increase while the Sun Moon and Stars shine and circle in the heavens.

“May Sarasvati incarnate in the Shruti, Heart of Wisdom, ever bloom and shine with worship from her human children; may they ever assiduously imbibe the vital milk of knowledge flowing from her sweet breasts of Science and Philosophy; may all minds turn to acts of good alone; and may all hearts be filled with Love of the Supreme.”

While laying the foundation stone of the University Lord Hardinge, speaking before a constellation of Governors, a galaxy of Ruling Princes and the flower of India's intellect, said: “This foundation stone will mark a definite step in the advance towards an ideal (of a residential and teaching University) that has stirred to its very depth the imagination of India.....I trust the Benares Hindu University may be a place of many-sided activities, prepared to equip young men for the various walks of life that go to the constitution of modern society; able to lead their countrymen in the path of progress; skilled to achieve new conquests in the realms of science, art, industry and social well-being, and armed

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with the knowledge as well as the character so essential for the development of the abundant natural resources of India. Let it be our prayer that this stone may contain within it the germs of all that is good and beautiful and wise for the enrichment of the educational system of India, the enlightenment and happiness of her people, and the glory of God."

Eleven years after another great Viceroy Lord Irwin visited the University and addressing a huge gathering said: "The hopes expressed by Lord Hardinge have not been belied. Those who have directed the growth of this University have laid their plans wisely and pursued them well. In the choice of their site and the character of their buildings they have striven to create the real academic atmosphere, impalpable but always powerful to influence the minds of those who are brought within its range. They have afforded opportunities for the study of a wide variety of subjects, intellectual and practical, theological and scientific, adequate to give a young man the mental equipment he needs to face the manifold problems of life.....This finely conceived and finely executed plan is, therefore, very bright with promise. It can well claim to be an All India University."

The progress achieved by the University during the short period of twenty years has

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been truly marvellous. When Pandit Malaviya published his scheme, he appealed for a crore of rupees to carry it out. Thanks to the generosity of the Ruling Princes and the public of India, this sum was soon subscribed. Panditji issued an appeal for a second crore in 1926. Of this sum also half the amount has already been collected. This 151 lakhs is probably the largest sum that has been collected in India for any national institution. The work of the construction of academic and residential buildings and the equipment of the Colleges and laboratories and workshops has also been carried out with remarkable rapidity. A magnificent site of 1,300 acres was acquired at the outset at the cost of six lakhs of rupees. A beautiful lay out plan was prepared. Twenty one miles of roads were laid out and over twenty thousand trees were planted. A new University town has been built up. Over two hundred buildings and Colleges with towers and turrets reminiscent of temples adorn the University grounds. There are eight Colleges and a splendid library. There are seven spacious hostels which provide accommodation for over two thousand students who live on the grounds of the University. There are extensive playgrounds for cricket, hockey, football, tennis and wrestling, and a large hall for physical culture. There is a dairy for the supply of milk to the residents of the University town. The University provides its own supply of water and

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electric light. There are over seven miles of electric line and over five miles of pump line in the University grounds and over six thousand five hundred electric points installed throughout the various colleges, hostels, laboratories, workshops and residences. The University town presents a charming appearance and reminds one of the glories of Naland and Taxila, and of our other ancient *Gurukulas* where ten thousand students used to be taught and lodged, and supplied with food and raimant.

The progress of the University on the academic side has been quite gratifying. The objects of the University were thus formulated :

(i) to promote the study of the Hindu Shastras and of Samskrit literature generally as a means of preserving and popularising for the benefit of the Hindus in particular and of the world at large in general, the best thought and culture of the Hindus, and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India ;

(ii) to promote learning and research generally in Arts and Science in all branches ;

(iii) to advance and diffuse such scientific, technical and professional knowledge, combined with the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous

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industries and in developing the material resources of the country; and

(iv) to promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.

To achieve these objects the University has so far established a College of Theology, a College of Oriental Learning, a College of Arts, a College of Science, both pure and applied, with large laboratories of Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, and Geology, a Teachers' Training College, an Engineering College for imparting instruction and training for degrees in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, the departments of Mining and Metallurgy, and of Industrial Chemistry, a Law College, an Ayurvedic College and an Institute of Agricultural research. A hospital has been attached to the College of Medicine and provides accommodation for a hundred patients. A Dissection hall, a Pharmacy and a Botanical Garden are also attached to this College. A Women's College has been established which provides instruction separately for women up to the B. A. degree through women teachers, and up to the M. A. degree in the general Arts College. The Science laboratories of the University are very well equipped both for teaching and research and much valuable work has been done in several of its branches.

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The work of the University is divided into thirty five departments.

The University has established its reputation as an All India institution. Its degrees, particularly in Applied Science and Technology and in technical and professional subjects, are eagerly sought. The youths of the motherland flock to the University in large numbers from all provinces of India and from the Indian States. The total number of students in the University is over 4,000 and that of teachers over 200. Over a thousand students of the University, who have taken a Degree of the University (or obtained a Diploma) in Electrical and Mechanical Engineering, or Mining or Metallurgy, have found employment in cities and towns, in mines, in cotton and sugar mills, in factories and workshops all over the country and in the Indian States. The graduates of the University in other departments compete well with the graduates of other Universities in their respective spheres of work.

The University has a denominational name. Under the Act of Incorporation it has to make special provision for imparting instruction in Hindu religion. Such instruction is compulsory in the case of Hindu students, and special arrangements are made for the religious instruction of Jain and Sikh students. Membership of the Court which is the supreme governing body of the University, is confined

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to Hindus. These are features of the University which constitute its special claim upon the members of the Hindu community. But these features apart, the Hindu University is a catholic institution. Subject to the Regulations, it is open to persons of both sexes and of all classes, castes and creeds; so are its freeships, stipends, and general scholarships of merit. There are Mussalman, Christian and Parsi students also on its rolls and they live in the same hostels with Hindu students. So also do students of the so called depressed classes, who are exempt from the payment of all tuition fees. Religious instruction is not compulsory in the case of non-Hindu students. Excepting teachers of Religion, professors are selected without any distinction of race and creed.

The University is pre-eminently an All India institution. His Excellency the Viceroy is the Lord Rector of the University. H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore was the first Chancellor, H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad, the second Chancellor, and H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner the present Chancellor. H. H. the late Maharaja Scindia was the first Pro-Chancellor, H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur and the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga are the present Pro-Chancellors. The late Sir Sunder Lal was the first Vice-Chancellor of the University, Sir Sivaswami Iyer was the second, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the



Professor Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, F.B.A.
Vice-Chancellor.

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third and Professor Dr. Sir Radhakrishnan, the present Vice Chancellor. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Aditya Ram Bhattacharya was the first Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Rai Bahadur G. N. Chakravarti the second. Prof. Anand Shanker Bapubhai Dhruva the third, Raja Jwala Prasad the fourth and Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu the present Pro-Vice-Chancellor. The late Sir Ganga Ram of Lahore was the Honorary Chief Engineer of the University from the time of its inception until 1927. He was succeeded as Chief Engineer by Babu (now Raja) Jwala Prasad. During the earlier years the buildings of the University were constructed under the supervision of Babu Jwala Prasad, in later years under the supervision of Pandit Lachman Das, who served the University for ten years as Honorary Executive Engineer. Besides the Princes named above, their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Maharao of Kotah, the Maharaja of Alwar, the Maharaja of Datia and the Maharaja of Kapurthala are patrons of the University appointed under the Statutes. Other patrons of the University are H. H. the Maharana of Udaipur, their Highnesses the Maharajas of Kashmir, Jaipur, Gwalior, Travancore, Cochin, Kishengarh, Indore, Nabha, Tehri-Garhwal, Kolhapur, Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, the Nawab of Rampur and the Maharaja-dhiraj of Darbhanga. Their Excellencies the Governors of the various Provinces

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of India are also Ex-officio Patrons of the University. His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is the Visitor of the University. The University draws its members of the Court, the Council, the Senate, and the Faculties and its Professors and its alumni from all parts of India.

The total recurring income of the University is about 16 lakhs a year. The Government of India contributes annually 3 lakhs towards it. Several Indian States also support the University by handsome annual donations. Of the sum of 158 lakhs collected, 137 lakhs has been contributed by the Princes and people of India and 21 lakhs by the Government of India.

It is hoped that the history of the Benares Hindu University will soon be written. In preparing it the material collected in this volume will be found to be useful. It is a chronological record of the birth and growth of the University. The object has been to put together in one volume the writings and utterances of some of the principal personages who lent moral or material support to the University in its infancy, or who have contributed to the growth of its prestige as an All India institution of high academic aims and ideals. The photographs which have been put in this volume will give the reader an idea of the beautiful plan of the University and of its

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academic and residential buildings.

The first prospectus of the proposed Hindu University, the revised prospectus explaining why the Hindu University of Benares was wanted and what it aimed at. the formation of the Hindu University Society, the launching of the great educational enterprise in the summer of 1911, the triumphant tour of the Darbhanga-Malaviya deputation to raise funds, the noble response from the Princes and the people, the Viceroy's sympathy and active support, the debates in the Imperial Legislative Council over the Hindu University Bill, the passing of the Hindu University Act in 1915, the visit of Lord Hardinge to Benares in the spring of the following year to lay the foundation stone of the University, the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to open the new buildings in 1921, the Convocation addresses by the first three Chancellors, Pro-Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors, messages from distinguished savants of our motherland, a record of the progress made by the University, and the appeal of the father of the University for further funds are all to be found in this volume.

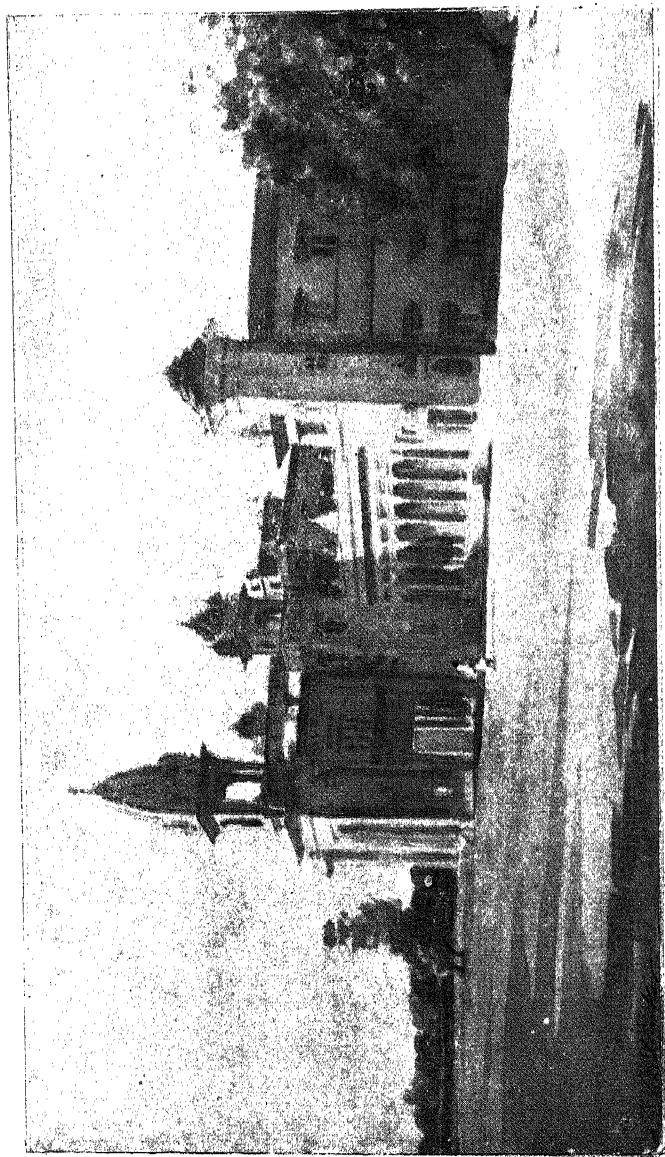
It is my earnest hope and prayer that this survey of the achievements of the Benares Hindu University will deepen public interest in its future progress, and that every lover of

PREFACE

education who peruses this volume will respond liberally to the appeal of the venerable Vice-Chancellor to help the Benares Hindu University to continue its vigorous growth, so that it may soon rank among the great Universities of the world and be in an ever-increasing measure a source of inspiration to the youth of the Motherland.

Krishnashtami,
1993.
Benares Hindu University. }

V. A. SUNDARAM



Ayurvedic College and Sir Sundarlal Hospital

The First Prospectus of 1904

FOREWORD

The main features of the scheme of a Hindu University which is sketched out in the following pages were first made public at a meeting, held early in 1904, at the "Mint House" at Benares, and presided over by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares. The greater portion of the prospectus had then been reduced to writing, and after many months of discussion and deliberation it was sent to press in July last. Copies of it were circulated in October, 1905, among a number of leading Hindu gentlemen of different provinces and the scheme was warmly approved by them. It was then discussed at a select meeting held at the Town Hall at Benares on the 31st December 1905, at which a number of distinguished educationists and representatives of the Hindu Community of almost every province of India were present, and a Provisional Committee was appointed to give final shape to the prospectus and to promote the scheme. Lastly, it was laid before the Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha (Congress of the Hindu religion) held at Allahabad, from 20th to 29th January, 1906, under the presidency of Paramahansa Parivrajakacharya Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Govardhan Math,

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

and the following resolutions were passed by representatives of the Hindu community who attended the Mahasabha from all Provinces of India and among whom were a large number of eminent Sadhus and Shastris :—

“1. That a Hindu University be established at Benares under the name of the Bharatiya Vishvavidyalaya—

(a) To train teachers of religion for the preservation and promotion of Sanatana Dharma which is inculcated by the Srutis, Smritis and Puranas, and which recognizes *varna* and *asrama* ;

(b) To promote the study of the Sanskrit language and literature ; and

(c) To advance and diffuse scientific and technical knowledge through the medium of Sanskrit and the Indian vernaculars.

II. That the University comprise—

(a) A Vaidic College where the Vedas, Vedangas, Smritis, Darsanas, Itihasas and Puranas shall be taught ; (an astronomical and meteorological observatory to be attached to the Jyotish section of this College) ;

(b) An Ayurvedic (Medical) College with laboratories and botanical gardens, a first class hospital and a veterinary department ;

THE FIRST PROSPECTUS OF 1904

(c) A College of Sthapatya Veda or Artha Sastra, having three distinct departments, *Viz.* a Department of Physics, theoretical and applied, with laboratories for experiments and researches, and workshops for the training of mechanical and electrical engineers;

(d) A Department of Chemistry, with laboratories for experiments and researches, and workshops for teaching the manufacture of chemical products;

(e) A Technological Department for teaching the manufacture, by means of machinery, of the principal articles of personal and household use; Geology, Mining and Metallurgy to be also taught in this department;

(f) An Agricultural College where instruction shall be imparted both in the theory and practice of agriculture in the light of the latest developments of agricultural science;

(g) A College of the Gandharva Veda and other fine arts; and

(h) A Linguistic College, where students shall be taught English, German and such other foreign languages as it may be found necessary to teach in order to enrich the Indian literature with the results of the latest achievements in all important sciences and arts.

III. (a) That the Vaidic College and all

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

religious work of the University be under the control of Hindus who accept and follow the principles of the Sanatan Dharma as laid down in the Srutis, Smritis and Puranas ;

(b) That admission to this College be regulated in accordance with the rules of the *Varnasrama dharma* ;

(c) That all other Colleges be open to students of all creeds and classes ; and the secular branches of Sanskrit learning be also taught without restriction of caste or creed.

IV (a) That a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen (vide list A), be appointed with power to add to their number, to take all necessary steps to give effect to the scheme of the University, as indicated in the preceding resolutions, with the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as its Secretary ;

(b) *Resolved* also that the members of the Provisional Committee which was formed at the meeting held at the Town Hall at Benares on the 31st December, 1905, to promote the scheme of a Hindu University be requested to become members of this Committee.

V (a) That all subscriptions and donations for the Vishvavidalaya be remitted to the Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal at Benares, and be deposited in the Bank of Bengal, Benares,

THE FIRST PROSPECTUS OF 1904

unless the Committee named above should otherwise direct ;

(b) That no part of the subscriptions or donations paid for the Vishvavidyalaya be spent until the Committee of the Vishvavidyalaya has been registered as a society under Act XXI of 1860 (an Act for the Registration of Literary, Scientific, and Charitable Societies), and its articles of association settled ; all the necessary preliminary expenses to be met, till then, out of the general fund of the Sanatana Dharama Mahasabha."

The Committee so formed has begun its work. It is proposed to have the foundations of the University laid as soon as a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs has been raised, or an annual income of one lakh a year secured.

Endowments and subscriptions will be assigned to special purposes or departments of the University, or appropriated to its general funds, as may be desired by the donors.

MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

Secretary.

Allahbad

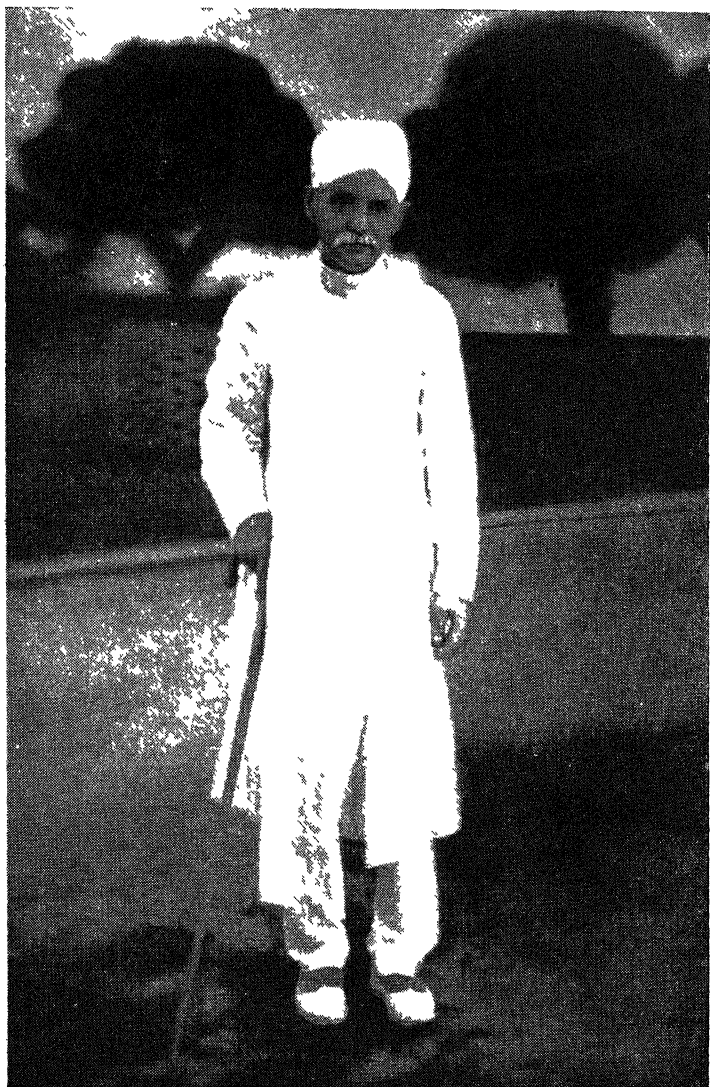
12th March, 1906.

A PROPOSED HINDU UNIVERSITY

Part 1.

THE NEED FOR IT

The present condition of the future prospects of the Hindu community throughout India are a subject for serious reflection by all thoughtful Hindus. Some idea of the material condition of the Hindus may be formed by a comparison of their average income with that of a prosperous nation like the English. The average daily income of the people of India, consisting chiefly of Hindus, (only about a sixth of the population being Mahomedans) is about one anna per head, that is about $\frac{1}{20}$ th of the daily income per head in England. Even this low average is tending to decline as may be seen by comparing it with the average fifty years ago, when it was about two annas. The condition of the Hindus as regards education may also be gauged by comparative statistics which show that 94.1 per cent. of the population of India, as a whole, is illiterate. In some provinces, such as the United Provinces, the percentage of illiterates rises as high as 97. In Great Britain, the percentage is 4.7 and in Germany 0.11. The



Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,
Rector.

THE FIRST PROSPECTUS OF 1904

bare bones, the sunken eyes, the ill-clad persons and the squalid homes of the agricultural and labouring classes, who form the bulk of the Hindu community in all parts of India are a far more eloquent index to the condition of that community than any statistics can be. Millions die of famine every decade and hundreds of thousands die of plague every year. It is well-known that Hindus fall victims to plague much more easily than the people of other communities. The physique and features of Hindus are rapidly deteriorating. Every decennial census discloses diminishing vitality, decreasing longevity and declining power of procreation among the Hindus. The upper classes are languishing, or dying out, for want of careers; the lower classes are suffering from excessive competition. The Hindu tenantry, who are the mainstay of the country, are, in most provinces, forced by keen competition for cultivable land, to pay rack-rents, and consequently live on starvation rates of sustenance. The proprietary body are, in many parts of the country, subject to chronic indebtedness. Such of them as are well-to-do, are, in many cases, torn by factions, impoverished by litigation or debased by sensuality.

There is a disposition in many quarters to ascribe this state of things mostly to the

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action or inaction of the Government under which we live. Although the system of government and laws to which a people are subject is an undoubtedly important factor in determining their prosperity, it is not the only influence, nor always the most powerful influence, which shapes their destiny. Although the warmest supporters of our Government have to admit its many short-comings, its severest critics cannot deny that it is effectively discharging the most important of the duties of a Government, *viz.*, maintenance of peace and protection of the lives and property of the people; that it has conferred upon us many other benefits of a civilized Government; and that we can under its aegis acquire knowledge and wealth. The enterprising Bhatias and Parsis of Bombay and the Marwaris of Calcutta are instances of Indian communities flourishing under British rule. Other communities can, it would seem, flourish equally or even surpassingly. What is it then, it may be asked, that has reduced Hindus, as a body, to their present condition? They live in a country which abounds in natural wealth. Their land is as fertile as any in the world, and grows the best grains and the daintiest fruits. The forests of their country are rich in fuel and timber. The mines of their country are rich in valuable ores and minerals. Their peasantry are industrious, sober and thrifty; their artisans are apt and skilful; their

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labourers are patient and hardworking; their upper classes include large numbers of highly intelligent men who can compete on equal terms, with the most gifted races, and can be trained to the highest functions which citizens of civilized countries may be called upon to perform. In the past, they have produced great men and achieved great things. Hindu Society was formerly a lofty and noble structure. It is now a shapeless heap. Whatever other causes may have contributed to bring about this state of things, all thoughtful and well-informed men will probably agree that one of the most important causes is the relaxation among the Hindus of the power which, according to the Hindu scriptures, sustains society, *viz.*, the power of religion, as the very name *dharma* signifies.

Hindus have for thousands of years been pre-eminent for the predominance they gave to religion over all other concerns. Professor Max Muller, than whom there is no greater modern authority on the history of ancient India, bears witness to this fact in the following memorable words:—

“As far back as we can trace the history of thought in India, from the time of King Harsha and the Buddhist pilgrims, back to the descriptions found in the *Mahabharat*, the testimonies of the Greek invaders, the minute

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accounts of the Buddhists in their *Tripitaka*, and in the end, of the Upanishads themselves and the hymns of the Veda, we are met everywhere by the same picture, a society in which spiritual interests predominate and throw all material interests into the shade—a world of thinkers, a nation of philosophers”.

The society of which this noble picture has been drawn has now unhappily undergone a sad change. Religion is now mainly the pursuit of a few persons here and there. Barring a few exceptions, men who are endowed with intellectual gifts are mostly absorbed in the cares of office or professional business, and scarcely ever think of religion. Those who are possessed of wealth and power are, in too many instances, so engrossed in their temporal concerns that they have little thought of the spiritual interests of their dependants or neighbours, or even their own. The rest of the Hindu society consists of ignorant agriculturists, petty traders, ill-trained artisans, half-starved labourers, all forming a mass of abject humanity, oppressed by poverty and decimated by disease. Excepting a few earnest souls here and there, every Hindu is pursuing his own aims regardless of the effect of his actions on the society to which he belongs. Mutual trust and mutual co-operation, which are the soul of corporate life, have all but disappeared. There are not

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many capable leaders, and among such as there are, there is not much unanimity and combined action. In short, Hindu Society is utterly disorganized and disintegrated.

This deplorable condition cannot be remedied without a wide diffusion of knowledge, and the restoration of religion to its rightful place. The ancient religion of India teaches each man to regard himself as a unit of a great whole, and to live and work for the good of that whole. As no man can live and work for the good of the whole to which he belongs without living and working in harmony with his fellow men, the ancient religion has prescribed duties and imposed restrictions which, if properly understood and duly observed, make for peace and good-will among men, and lead to harmonious co-operation by them for the good of the society of which they are members, and of the world they live in.

Some people are apt to think that the ancient religion of India leads men to disregard all worldly concerns and to become mystics and quietists. It is true that Hindus never were mammon-worshippers, at any rate, they were not so in their most prosperous days. They pursued far higher aims, and achieved success in those pursuits of which any nation may be proud. But the great founders of the Hindu society recognized wealth as a legitimate

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object of human pursuit. Indeed, it has been ranked as one of the four great aims of human life, *viz.*, *dharma* (duty), *artha* (wealth), *Kama* (enjoyment of lawful pleasures), *moksha* (final beatitude). There was an *artha-sastra* as well as a *dharma sastra* and an *adhyatma sastra* (*moksha-dharma*). An individual who sought only one or two of the great aims was regarded as lacking in the balance of character.

The ancient religion takes cognizance of all human concerns, whether of the present or future life. The whole fabric of Hindu civilization is the product of Hindu religion. The remnants of the records of that civilization, preserved in the existing Sanskrit literature, contain a complete scheme of society providing for the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual welfare of individuals, and for their organization into prosperous communities. Protection of life and preservation of health were the first care of the ancient religion. Medical science, *ayurveda*, was considered an important part of the scriptures, it being classed as an *upa-veda*. The *Ayurveda* of India is now recognized as the forgotten parent of the medical science, of Europe; and although little or no advance has been made in it during the last seven or eight centuries, ayurvedic practitioners who have decent knowledge of *Charaka*, *Susruta* and other Hindu medical works are thriving in a Europeanized city like

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Calcutta in the midst of the practitioners of the European system of medicine which has, for a long time, been making rapid advances in consequence of the life-long labours of a host of scientific men in Europe and America, and under the patronage of all the Governments in those continents. The rules of personal and domestic hygiene and regulations and restrictions regarding food and drink, enjoined by Hindu laws and custom, and religiously, though not in all cases very intelligently, observed by faithful Hindus down to the present day, are borne out by the most modern developments of western science.

The means provided, and the methods prescribed, by the sages of India for the discipline and culture of the mind and for the acquisition of knowledge are highly rational. Language, which is the first and most important means of mental development and culture and the most indispensable medium of communication between man and man, was cultivated, purified and systematised with an amount of labour and skill that has not been bestowed upon it anywhere else in the world. The Sanskrit language is acknowledged to stand pre-eminent among the languages of the world. It has been found capable of expressing the highest thoughts conceived by mankind in the most elegant and majestic forms. It has been elaborated with such a

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keen sense of the laws of harmony and rhythm that it stands unrivalled as a means of recording, conveying and remembering knowledge and thought. Its study, as remarked by Sir Monier Williams "involves a mental discipline not to be surpassed." No other country has, it is well known, produced a system of grammar and philology at all approaching the marvellous product of the genius and labours and the long succession of linguistic philosophers of whom Panini and Patanjali are the most famous representatives. Methods of arriving at truth and rejecting error and illusion, and of thus storing up true knowledge, which are laid down in the systems founded by the line of philosophers which culminated in Gautama and Kanada, are as sound and effective as any invented by human ingenuity. The scheme for the cultivation of the power of thought and intuition unfolded in the *Yoga Sutra* of Patanjali, has not been approached, if attempted, by any other nation in the ancient or modern history of the world. It is true that the aim of all recognized systems of Hindu philosophy is the acquisition of spiritual knowledge and the emancipation of the soul; but their methods are no less conducive to the promotion of temporal knowledge. A mind habituated to those methods eases to be credulous, and is not easily satisfied with anything short of a *siddhanta*—well-established truth. It is *siddhantas* which form the basis of every true science and every sound

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institution. The Rishis who founded the Hindu society were ardent votaries of truth, and they reared their civilization on the solid foundation of well-ascertained truths.

The morality inculcated by the sages of India comprehends all the virtues which are necessary for the unmolested existence and harmonious co-operation of mankind. It requires even lower animals to be protected from injury. Abstinence from all injury (*ahinsa*) is reckoned among the highest virtues and is enjoined upon all members of the society. One who resolves to prepare himself for leading higher life has to begin with a vow of *ahinsa* (Manu VI, 39). Truth is recognized as the highest duty or religion (सत्यान्नास्ति परो धर्मः) *Srutis*, *smritis*, *itihasas* and *puranas* are full of injunctions and exhortations declaring allegiance to truth under all conditions and at all hazards as the foremost duty of man. The first lesson taught to a boy under the old system of teaching begins with "*Sattyam vada dharmam chara*" (speak the truth, do thy duty). Traditions of men like Harischandra, Yudhisthira, and Dasarath who sacrificed their fortunes, affections and their very lives at the altar of truth, are cherished with the greatest reverence and treasured with the utmost care in the ancient literature of India. Another predominant injunction of the Hindu scriptures is one which is so urgently needed

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at present for producing real benefactors of society, *viz.*, unselfish action. No teaching is more emphatic in the vast body of Hindu sacred literature than the effacement of self. It is the burden of the "Lord's Lay",-the Bhagavadgita-which is justly regarded as the essence of Hindu scriptures. It sheds lustre on the Hindus of old inasmuch as it indicates that they had reached that stage of true civilization where men are actuated by the motive of universal rather than personal good. Animals will care and act for no one but themselves, their mates, and their offspring, up to a certain age. Individualism is the prevailing feature of societies of men before they reach a high state of civilization. It is people who have lived for thousands of years in the midst of a high state of civilization that are capable of acting from the motive of the good of all beings. Beneficent activity in aid of social prosperity (लोकसंग्रह) is enjoined even on those who have realised the transitory nature of all temporal concerns and are free from all desires. Rectitude of conduct is taught to be a far more valuable possession than wealth (वृत्तं यत्नेन संरक्षेद्विचित्रमायाति याति च). A pure life is assigned a far higher place than a knowledge of all the Vedas (सावित्रीमात्रसारोऽपि वरं विप्रः सुयज्ञितः । नायन्नितस्त्रिवेदोऽपि). Forgiveness (क्षमा), fortitude (धृति), control of sense (दम) and of the mind (शम), compassion (अनुकंपा), philanthropy (परोपकार), in short, all virtues which elevate

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human character, support human society and promote harmony among men, are inculcated by means of solemn injunctions, touching anecdotes and eloquent discourses. Hindu philosophy co-operates with Hindu poetry in the task of leading man into the path of righteousness, inasmuch as it teaches him that every creature around him is his own self in another guise, and that he rises in the scale of being by doing good to those with whom he comes in contact and degrades himself by injuring his fellow creatures. Thus a belief in the two great laws of transmigration and *karma* is an incentive to virtue.

The methods of spiritual culture prescribed in the sacred literature of India have produced sages, saints and seers whose greatness stands unique in the history of the world.

No intelligent and thoughtful student of the older and more important works of the Sanskrit literature can fail to perceive that the aim of the founders of the Hindu society was to create powerful, enlightened, prosperous and well-organized communities of men. Their very prayers* place their aim in this direction beyond doubt.

*May the Brahmans in our kingdom be resplendent with piety and knowledge. May the Kshatriyas be brave, skilled in arms, terrible to foemen, and capable of facing

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It will be readily conceded that the first condition of a powerful community is its numerical strength; and it is well known that, at present, the necessity of securing this condition is seriously exercising the minds of the leaders of the French and American republics. In the case of Hindus, this condition is assured by the religious duty imposed upon every citizen of begetting legitimate sons, the only exemption from this duty being in favour of Naishthika Brahmacharis, who may elect to consecrate their lives to the pursuit of knowledge and take a vow of life-long celibacy.

As numerical strength is not in itself sufficient to make a community powerful, marriage laws and rules were formed as to secure purity of race, and, thus produce men of superior physical, intellectual and moral qualities.

The development and fructification of these qualities was provided for by prescribing that men of twice-born classes should, in their

formidable odds. May the cows of the sacrificer be good milkers; his oxen, powerful in draft: his horses, fleet; his wife, the mistress of a thriving household; his son a conquering warrior and a youth who will adorn an assembly. May rain fall as copiously as we desire. May our crops ripen with abundant grain. May we have, and maintain, prosperity. (Shukla Yajurveda, Vajasaneyi Sanhita, XXII-22).

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boyhood, be initiated by a competent preceptor and undergo a long course of study and discipline (ब्रह्मचर्य) under conditions of rigid abstinence and purity, after which they should marry and rear up families, and may acquire wealth and indulge in legitimate enjoyments, and should be engaged in acts of beneficence, and thus ripen with the experience of the world. The duties of a house-holder were required to come to an end when the family was grown up and signs of old age were visible. Then came the stage of retirement into solitude, where, free from the cares of toils and domestic and civic life, the mind enjoyed undisturbed repose and tranquillity and was in moods favourable for the discovery of great truths and conception of elevated and elevating thoughts. Last of all came the stage in which all thoughts concerning this world were come to an end and the mind was to be devoted solely to the highest concern of humanity (परमपुरुषार्थ) viz., purification, elevation and enlightenment of the soul until it is fit to dwell eternally in the presence of the Supreme Soul or to become one with that Soul (ब्रह्मभूष).

The interests of social prosperity were provided for by assigning different functions of human society to different classes, whose duty and interest it was to perform these functions efficiently and hand down their knowledge, talents, skill and aptitude to their descen-

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dants. The advancement and preservation of knowledge, the regulation of society by laws and socio-religious institutions, and the promotion of civilization by educational, literary and scientific work were committed to the care of a class who were taught to regard knowledge and virtue as their most valuable possession and to despise wealth and power from their very childhood, and were trained to lead a life of rigorous self-denial and fearless independence. The protection of society was entrusted to a class who were known to be endowed with martial qualities and administrative capacity. The production, distribution and custody of wealth were in the hands of a class who excelled in intelligence, industry, thrift and aptitude for business. While Kshattriyas and Vaisyas were trained for the special functions of their respective classes, they were required to receive the same *sankaras* and the same high standard of education in the Vedas and other branches of learning as Brahmans. Labour and service were the lot, as in all countries and ages, of the mass of people of humble birth and inconspicuous mental powers. The functions thus assigned to each class as its *jati-dharmas* and were specialised by different families as their *kula-dharmas* and were faithfully and efficiently performed for the well-being of the whole society, which was thus served by the classes and families composing it, as an organism is served by its constituent organs.

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The organization (*varna-vibhaga*) was in accordance with the great laws, now known as the laws of DIVISION OF LABOUR and HEREDITARY TRANSMISSION OF APTITUDES AND TALENTS, and, working in conjunction with the wise institution of *asrama-vibhaga*, it produced results which made India one of the wealthiest and most civilized countries of the world for thousands of years. Herodotus declared Indians to be the greatest nation of his time, not excepting Thracians, the most advanced people of Greece in that age. The enormous wealth of India excited the cupidity of foreigners from the days of Alexander down to modern times. Her manufactures were the admiration of the world. Her merchandise found markets in the remotest countries of Asia and Europe. Her warriors were famous for their valour, chivalry, and heroism, even down to the degenerated times treated of in Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*. Sanskrit literature is full of vivid descriptions of prosperous communities, and powerful kingdoms, of opulent cities and thriving marts, of splendid palaces, mansions, gardens and theatres, of flourishing trades, handicrafts, arts and learning. That these descriptions are not mere poetical fiction is proved by the testimony of foreigners like Magasthenes and Hiouen Tsang who visited India and recorded their experiences ; and no thoughtful student of sociology who has a knowledge of the conditions existing in

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ancient India can have any difficulty in believing in these descriptions when he contemplates what can be accomplished by an intelligent race inhabiting a fertile country full of mineral resources, and living under institutions framed and controlled by wise and unselfish men. Sanskrit scholars of Europe are now convinced that religion, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, poetry, drama architecture, music, and in short all departments of learning, arts and handicrafts were originated and cultivated by Hindus for themselves with scarcely any extraneous help.

The lamentable condition into which Hindus have now fallen is, in a great measure, due to their divorce from the ancient religion and literature of India. There is no organisation among them to train teachers who should impart instruction to the people in the great lessons of truth, purity, rectitude, self-control and unselfish devotion to duty which are so impressively and so copiously taught in their ancient literature. Hindu princes, nobles, gentry, and—barring exceptions here and there—even Brahmans receive no systematic Hindu education or spiritual ministrations. This state of things is in marked contrast with that prevailing in the prosperous countries of Europe and America where religion, as a rule, forms a necessary part of education; where large congregations assemble in well-appointed

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churches every week to hear sermons preached by well-educated clergymen discharging their duties under the control of a well-established church-government: where the aristocracy, the gentry, and other rich people go through a course of instruction in the ancient literatures of Greece and Rome, which gives them the training, culture and refinement so necessary to men who occupy eminent positions and control important affairs. While the classical languages of Greece and Rome form a necessary and important element of a respectable education in Europe and America very few of the most highly educated Hindus are proficient in the sacred and classical language of their country, and fewer still have explored the priceless treasures still contained in that language.

It is well known to students of European history that the culture, refinement, arts and sciences of modern Europe are largely the result of the great movement known as the Renaissance, which consisted chiefly of the revival of the ancient learning of Greece and Rome, and which, originating in Italy, the old home of Roman civilization, gradually extended to France, Spain, Germany, Great Britain and other countries of Europe.

A great revival of Hindu learning must precede any real advancement of the Hindus,

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No scheme for their elevation can be regarded as sound which ignores the principle of historical continuity and the achievements of their great ancestors. No modern Hindu language or literature can thrive which is not fed from the fountain-head of Sanskrit literature.

Those who are conversant with this literature are convinced that it is full of the elements of moral greatness and material prosperity. Even European scholars of Sanskrit compare what they know of that literature* favourably with the Latin and Greek literatures† from which the modern literatures and civilization of Europe are chiefly derived.

*That there is much in the Sanskrit literature of which they have little knowledge is admitted by so high an authority as Professor Max Muller, who, with his characteristic candour, says: "In fact, there is still plenty of work left for those who come after us, for with all that has been achieved, we are on the threshold of a truly historical study of Indian philosophy and literature. Here, also, we are still like children playing on the sea-shore and finding now a pebble or a shell, whilst the great ocean of that ancient literature lies before us undiscovered and unexplored." (Six Systems of Hindu Philosophy, first Ed. pp. 383).

†This comparison has been instituted, among others, by Sir Monier Williams in the preface of his Sanskrit English Dictionary, where he says: "No one person indeed, with limited powers of mind and body, can hope to master more than one or two departments of so vast a range, in which scarcely a subject can be named with the single exception of

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English education can, in the nature of things, be availed of by only a very inconsiderable portion of the Hindu community. Of the total population of India only 6.8 males out of every 1,000 are literate in English, and these figures include Europeans and Eurasians. English education in India has produced a number of men many of whom are ornaments of the professions and services to which they belong, and others are efficiently and honourably discharging the duties which they are called upon to perform. But the positions in which a knowledge of English is required can provide careers for only a very small fraction of the Indian population, and the education of men for these careers is a serious tax on the energy and resources of the community; for education through the medium of a foreign language necessarily costs far more time and expense, and puts much greater strain on the

historiography, not furnishing a greater number of treatises than any other language of the ancient world. In some subjects, too, especially in poetical descriptions of nature and domestic affections, Indian works do not suffer by comparison with the best specimens of Greece and Rome, while in the wisdom, depth and shrewdness of their moral apothegms they are unrivalled. More than this the learned Hindus had probably made great advances in astronomy, algebra, arithmetic, botany and medicine, not to mention their admitted superiority in grammar, long before any of these sciences were cultivated by the most ancient nations of Europe... "The East is, we must candidly own, the first source of all our light."

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mind and body, than education through one's vernacular. Of those who have spent as many as fifteen or twenty years of their early life in receiving English education, a very small portion can effectively use the English language as a means of communication, and fewer still can use it as an instrument of thought. India, which was once pre-eminent as a land of thinkers, is not now producing much in the way of original thought. A foreign language can scarcely be so favourable to original thought as one's own mother tongue. A foreign language may be a very useful accomplishment to those who have the means and parts necessary for acquiring it; but it cannot serve as the vehicle of original thought and medium of instruction for a whole community. English education will continue to be sought by aspirants to Government service and by those who wish to join the professions for which it is a necessary passport. It should also be sought as a means of acquiring and popularizing the sciences, arts and manufacturing processes which have sprung up in Europe and America during the last seventy or eighty years owing to the introduction of steam and electricity as motive powers and of chemistry as an important economic agent. But the bulk of the Indian population must be educated through the medium of Indian vernaculars, and these must, as has been observed before, be nursed by their mother, Sanskrit.

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There was a time when India could claim to be the largest contributor, at least in the Aryan portion of the human race, not only to religion and philosophy, but to sciences, arts, manufactures and all else that makes up civilization. European scholars and investigators now acknowledge that India is the birth-place of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, astronomy and medicine, and own their indebtedness to our ancestors for the discovery of another most important factor of civilization, viz., the use of metals. But, for the last eight or nine hundred years, Indian civilization has not only been making no progress, but has been steadily declining; Mathematics has made no progress in India since the age of Bhaskaracharya, and medicine has advanced little since the days of Vagbhatta. Each generation sees the decline or disappearance of some branch of Indian learning which was once cultivated with assiduity, or some art or trade which was once in a flourishing condition. Even the most cherished possession of our race, viz., the knowledge of the Vedas, is now at a low ebb. In fact, Vedic studies are being pursued with greater zeal in Europe than in India. Within the memory of living men, Hindu mathematicians, physicians, logicians and musicians have died without leaving successors approaching their eminence. The art of making steel from the ore, which was extensively practised in many parts of India, is said by the present

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generation of Indian blacksmiths to have come down to the time of their fathers, but to be a well-nigh forgotten art now. The manufacture of the exquisite cotton fabrics known as *Shabnam* and *ab-i-rawan* has only been recently lost.

As this process of retrogression has been going on for about a thousand years, some idea of the ground lost by the Indian civilization can be formed from the losses which it has suffered in recent times. In spite of all her losses, India was not much behind other countries in material civilization up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when she still exported fine cloths and other products of skilled workmanship to European and other countries. But the advances made in Europe and America during the last three quarters of a century in physics and chemistry and in their application to the production of wealth, and more especially, the introduction of steam and electricity as aids to manufacturing industries and as means of locomotion, have thrown India far behind the countries in which experimental sciences are studied and made subservient to social prosperity.

India cannot regain her prosperity until the study and application of the modern sciences becomes, so to speak, naturalised in the country. Science cannot become a national possession so

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long as it has to be studied through the medium of a foreign language. A wide diffusion of science in India as a means of rescuing the people from the abject poverty into which they have fallen is not possible until science, both theoretical and practical, can be learnt by Indians in their own country and in their own vernaculars.

The patriotic endeavours which are being made to send students to foreign countries for technical education are most praiseworthy. But they can only serve, as they are, no doubt, meant to serve as a small beginning. Technical education cannot be expected to make any real progress until there is, at least, one well-appointed polytechnic institution in the country capable of giving efficient instruction in the principles and practice of the technical arts which help the production of the principal necessities of life of the Indian population.

But mere industrial advancement cannot restore India to the position which she once occupied among the civilized countries of the world. And even industrial prosperity cannot be attained in any large measure without mutual confidence and loyal co-operation amongst all concerned, and these can only prevail and endure amongst those who are fair in all their dealings, strict in the observance of good faith and steadfast in their loyalty to

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truth. Such men cannot be found in sufficiently large numbers to keep a society in an organised, efficient and healthy condition, when the society to which they belong is not under the abiding influence of a great religion acting as a living force.

The foregoing considerations point to the need for bringing the Hindu community under a system of education which will qualify its members for the pursuit of the great aims of life (*trivarga*) as laid down in the scriptures, *viz.*,

- (1) Discharge of religious duties (*dharma*);
- (2) Attainment of material prosperity (*artha*), and
- (3) Enjoyment of lawful pleasures (*kama*).

The fourth great aim, salvation (*moksha*) must be pursued by each individual by his own efforts under the guidance of his spiritual preceptor and in accordance with the methods of his own particular creed or denomination.

Part II.

THE PROVISIONAL SCHEME.

A Hindu University.

It is proposed to make the beginning of such a system of education as has been indicated above by founding a University (a) for the promotion of Sanskrit learning as a means of preserving and popularising, for the benefit of the Hindus and the world at large, all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India, especially the high standard of morality, and those teachings which led to the formation of the solid types of character which were content with plain living and high thinking and delighted in beneficence and generosity, and of enriching the modern vernaculars with the results achieved by modern science and learning, and (b) for providing scientific and technical instruction of a superior order as a means of developing the vast resources of the country and of supplying prosperous careers for its people.

The study of Sanskrit is, at present, chiefly confined to Brahmans, and even within that class its range is not wide and it is not pursued with any definite aim. Brahman boys here and there take it up partly from a sense of

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religious duty but mainly from the force of immemorial custom, and such of them as have a sufficiently keen intellect to acquire a proficiency in some branch of Sanskrit literature become its votaries, rather from its inherent fascination, than from motives of worldly benefit; for, the scanty remuneration of a Pandit is far from being commensurate with the time and mental exertion which his studies cost, or with the order of intellect which they demand. Ordinary Pandits have no conception of the possibilities of the Sanskrit literature as a source of worldly prosperity. They are not aware of the value of the Sanskrit language as a means of invigorating the intellect for occupations which call for superior intelligence, and of the Sanskrit literature as a source of the teaching and models required for the formation of great characters, who alone can achieve great things. One of the principal aims of the University will be to extend the sphere of Sanskrit learning to all classes who are capable of benefiting by it, and to utilise it as a means of nourishing and training the minds and elevating the characters of the alumni and of thus preparing them for the great tasks and high positions which they will find awaiting the worthy, in the various departments of social activity. Sanskrit will thus become, as it was in olden times, the language of the elite of all classes in all parts of India.

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It is proposed to arrange for giving efficient instruction in all branches of Sanskrit literature, of recognized value, and more especially to promote the study of the Vedas, Vedangas, Upavedas, Kalpa Sutras, Dharma Sastra, Itihasas, Puranas and other works containing the principles on which Hindu polity is based. This scheme of studies is practically identical with that originally proposed for the Sanskrit Department of the Queen's College at Benares by Mr. Jonathan Duncan,* the large-hearted British administrator to whom this country is indebted for the establishment of that highly useful institution. But the study of the Vedas, and other works intimately connected with the Hindu Religion, was afterwards abolished in consequence of the scruple that it was not right for a Christian Government to encourage studies calculated to promote a non-Christian religion.

There being no other institution for the encouragement of Vedic studies, these have come to be grievously neglected in this country. Some European scholars have for the last fifty or sixty years been devoting much attention to Vedic studies ; but they are deprived of the facilities available in India, and candidly admit that a large number of Vedic texts remain uninterpreted. Moreover, they chiefly pursue their studies for philological and historical purposes, and their labours cannot

be of much benefit to India so long as Indians remain apathetic to this important department of Sanskrit literature.

It is proposed to encourage the study of the Samhitas, Brahmans, and Upanishads, the Srauta, Grihya and Dharma Sutras and the codes of Manu and Yajnavalkya, the Ramayana, Mahabharat, Srimadbhagavat and others Purana with special reference to their bearing on the evolution and constitution of the Hindu society. Such a study will lead to the right understanding and intelligent working of Hindu institutions, and will ensure the supply of a race of religious teachers qualified by their learning and character to instruct the people in the high moral precepts and spiritual truths which are treasured up in the sacred books of the Hindus, and which are calculated to raise them to a higher level of living and acting than at present prevails.

Of the *Vedangas*, *Vyakarana* is the only one which is taught and learnt with some zeal. *Jyotisha* is learnt here and there; but a competent knowledge of it is now somewhat rare. *Chhandahsastra* is also learnt by some, but the *Vedic* prosody has come to be almost entirely forgotten. *Siksha*, *Kalpa* and *Nirukta* are known to very few. It is proposed to make the teaching of *Vyakarana* more practical, and to revive the study of the other *Vedangas* and

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especially *Jyotisha*. It is proposed to establish an observatory for the study of the phenomena of astronomy and meteorology, and to make endeavours to bring the Sanskrit literature on these subjects up-to-date.

Arrangements will be made for founding a chair for each *Darsana*, and special steps will be taken to resuscitate the study of the *Purva Mimansa* and *Sankhya* which have come to be more or less neglected. A knowledge of *Pada*, *vakya*, and *pramana* will be required of all who wish to qualify for higher studies in Sanskrit literature and to become teachers of religion.

Of the *Upavedas*, particular attention will be bestowed on the *Ayurveda*. It will be brought up-to-date by the incorporation of the results achieved by other nations in anatomy, physiology, surgery and other departments of the medical science. The ultimate aim of this department will be to provide the whole country with *Vaidyas* well qualified both as physicians and surgeons. Botanical gardens will be maintained for the culture of herbs and roots for medicinal use, and vegetables and plants for economic uses and for the study of fibers, dyes and tans. There will be laboratories for teaching the preparation of *rasas*, *tailas*, *asavas* and other medicines and for carrying on original investigation and experiments. Eminent graduates and licenciates in European medicine

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and surgery will be employed to give instructions and training to the students of *Ayurveda* and to help the *Vaidyas* in preparing works in Sanskrit and Indian vernaculars, on anatomy, physiology, surgery, hygiene and other sciences auxiliary to the *Ayurveda*.

One of the most important functions of the institution will be to build up anew the *Sthapatya Veda* or *artha sastra* which, as a written science, has been so completely effaced from the Indian literature that its very name has ceased to be familiar. The task to be performed in this direction will be most difficult and most expensive. Physics and chemistry, both theoretical and applied, will be taught. There will be large classes for teaching the arts of spinning, weaving, dyeing, calico-printing, glass-making and other useful arts. There will be workshops for turning our skilled mechanics such as carpenters and blacksmiths. There will be well-equipped physical and chemical laboratories for practical instruction and for original research. Mechanical, electrical and mining engineers will be educated and trained for developing the resources of the country. Civil engineering will also be taught. The manufacture and use of machinery will be taught with special care.

As India is an agricultural country, a knowledge of agricultural chemistry and of the

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scientific methods of agriculture adopted in the advanced countries of the West, whereby the soil is made to yield more abundant and richer harvests than are obtained in our country, should be promoted and diffused widely among the people. It is a matter for congratulation that the Government of India has now recognised the importance of promoting a knowledge of agricultural science and research in India. But it seems that in view of the great importance to the country of such knowledge and of the benefits to be immediately derived from it, the proposed University, which will be the people's University should make it an important part of its duty to help in diffusing such knowledge among the people and in making it a national possession. With this end in view, an Agricultural College will also be established, where the highest instruction will be given through the medium of the vernacular, both in the theory and practice of agriculture in the light of the latest developments of agricultural science.

While the interests of religion (*dharma*) and social prosperity (*artha*) will be provided for by supplying sound instruction in the foregoing subjects, the third aim of life, *viz.*, the enjoyment of lawful pleasure (*kama*) will not be neglected. The founders of Indian civilization, while prescribing and insisting on the most austere morals, were never averse to

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aesthetic culture. With a clear perception of the nature of true civilization, our ancestors cultivated and cherished the graceful arts of music, poetry, drama, painting, sculpture and architecture which afford refined enjoyment to the superior natures. Some of these arts having been partially, and others totally, lost in the vicissitudes through which the Indian civilization has passed, steps will be taken to revive these arts so that they may once more form the graces of Hindu homes.

The University will comprise—

1. A VAIDIK COLLEGE where the *Vedas*, *Vedangas*, *Smritis*, *Itihasas*, and *Puranas* and other departments of Sanskrit literature will be taught. An astronomical and meteorological observatory will be attached to the Jyotisha section of the Vedangas, and will form a part of this College.

N. B.—This College and all religious work of the University will be under the control of those who accept and follow the principles of Sanatandharama as laid down in the Sruti, Smriti, and Puranas. Teachers of religion will be trained and examined here. Admission to this College will be regulated in accordance with the rules of the Varnasramadharma. All other Colleges will be open to students of all creeds and classes. The secular branches of

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Sanskrit learning will be taught without restriction of caste or creed.

2. AN AYURVEDIC COLLEGE, with its laboratories and botanical gardens. This College will have a first class hospital and a veterinary department with its cattle, farms and studs for improving the breeds of cattle and horses.

3. A COLLEGE OF STHAPATYA VEDA OR ARTHA SASTRA, having, three distinct departments which will be located in separate buildings, *Viz.*,

(a) A Department of Physics. theoretical and applied, with laboratories for experiments and researches, and workshops for the training of mechanical and electrical engineers.

(b) A Department of Chemistry with its laboratories for experiments and researches and workshops for teaching the manufacture of acids, dyes, paints, varnishes cements, and other chemical products.

(c) A Technological Department for teaching the manufacture, by means of machinery, of the principal articles of personal and house-hold use for which India is now dependent on foreign countries. Mining and

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Metallurgy will form two important sections of his department.

4. An Agricultural College where instruction will be imparted both in theory and practice of agriculture in the light of the latest developments of agricultural science.

5. A COLLEGE OF THE GANDHARVA VEDA and other fine arts. The work of this college will be—

(a) To recover the world of beauty and sublimity which was reared in *ragas* by the aesthetic minds of ancient India, and to bring it within the reach of the cultured classes ;

(b) To restore the dramatic art to its pristine purity and to make it a popular means of moral education ;

(c) To encourage painting and sculpture by providing competent instructors for those arts ;

(d) To preserve purity of design in the production of art wares, to arrest the spirit of a slavish imitation of foreign models, and to encourage the various decorative arts.

6. A LINGUISTIC COLLEGE where students will be taught English, and such other

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foreign languages as it may be found necessary to teach, in order to enrich the Indian literature with all important sciences and arts. Languages will be taught in the most approved and expeditious methods extant, and up to such a degree of proficiency that a learner of a language shall be able to speak and write it with accuracy and ease, and to read its literature with facility. Teachers of the other colleges, and Pandits outside the colleges, who are not too old, will be induced to seek instruction in this college so that they may become competent to help in the task of enriching the Indian literature with the result of modern sciences and learning.

Besides these colleges and their adjuncts there will be residential quarters for teachers and pupils. Earnest endeavours will be made to revive the great ancient institution of *brahmacharya*. Promising students will be attracted from all parts of the country and admitted to the *asrama of brahmacharis* directly after their *upanayana*. Men of light and leading in all parts of the country will be invited to send their sons and other relations to the *Asrama*.

There will be a large school in connection with the *asrama* where the students will receive education preliminary to their admission to the colleges where they will be trained for the

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discharge of higher functions and control of ordinary functions, in the social economy. It will be the duty of the resident teachers to mould the characters of the students on the great models which are delineated in the Sanskrit literature. The students will be required to carry out in their daily life, and intercourse with one another, those great lessons of *satya* (truth), *daya* (compassion), *tapas* (physical endurance and mental discipline), *soucha* (purity of body, mind and dealings), *titiksha* (forbearance), *sama* (control of passion), *dama* (control of the senses), *ahinsa* (abstinence from causing injury), *brahmcharyas* (continence), *tyaga* (self-sacrifice), *dhriti* (fortitude), *kshama* (forgiveness), *arjava* (straightforwardness), *vinaya* (propriety of conduct and behaviour), *sila* (good conduct and disposition), *nirmamatva* (unselfishness), *nirahankara* (humility), *pourusha* (enterprise), *utsaha* (aspiration), *dhairya* (firmness), *virya* (courage), *audarya* (generosity) *maitri* (friendliness to all beings) and other virtues which they will learn at first hand from our sacred literature.

The courses of study will be so fixed that a student of average intelligence, taught on the modern methods, may, in twelve years, (a) acquire, without excessive strain on his powers, a proficiency in the Sanskrit language and literature which will make him a *dharmajaya*, or firmly grounded in the principles of

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religion and morality, and will be able to understand, with facility, those branches of Sanskrit learning which can be read without the help of a specialist, and (b) be skilled in some art of producing wealth, and versed in the principles upon which it is based. The students of the *brahmacharyasrama* who have maintained an unblemished character, and completed their courses of study, and who are, on examination, found to have attained the prescribed standard of proficiency, will be awarded the *pada* (degree) of *Snataka* (graduate). Those who, after becoming *Snatakas*, pursue their studies in or out of the University, and achieve distinction in some branch of science or learning, by producing some work of merit, or by some useful discovery or invention, will be awarded the title of *Acharya*. Those who will come to the University after the age of 14 or 15 to receive technical education, will, when they have completed their course of studies and passed the prescribed tests, receive diplomas as *Adhikaris* (licentiates in their respective professions. While in the University, they will also receive religious and moral education in vernacular if they do not know Sanskrit.

The instruction and training in the direct production of wealth which the students will receive in the technical colleges will, it is hoped, place them above want, and they will begin to

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produce wealth before they have completed their term at the University, and it may be possible to give them stipends out of their own earning during their apprenticeship. They will be established in life as employers of labour, organizers in industries, managers of landed estates and business houses, scientific and literary men, engineers, professors, religious teachers, conductors of researches in literary fields, and investigators into the phenomena and laws of nature. Being able to earn wealth by honourable means they will be above temptation to unworthy conduct, and being inspired by high principles imbibed from Sanskrit learning, they will be men of unswerving rectitude and incorruptible integrity. Their *brahmacharya* will give them physical and mental robustness which will enable them to bear the strain of intellectual work, whether professional or civic. Their culture will command respect. Their character will inspire confidence. The guarantee of their word will attract capital for great industrial enterprises. Their direction and control will ensure success to religious, educational, mercantile, industrial and philanthropic undertakings. They will establish schools and colleges in different parts of the country, which will diffuse education similar to that given at the University and will be affiliated to it. They will establish harmony and co-operation where there is discord and strife.

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Instruction will be imparted in Sanskrit to all who desire it. It will be insisted on in the case of those who wish to qualify themselves to be teachers of religion, and of those who wish to obtain the highest degree in medicine. In the case of others, only such a knowledge of Sanskrit will be required as will enable them to easily understand simple religious texts and to acquire a mastery over the vernacular. For the rest, instruction will be imparted wholly through the medium of the Indian vernacular which is most widely understood in the country, *viz.*, Hindi. It is hoped that Indian students who are willing to learn Japanese in order to attend lectures at the Tokyo University will not regard it a hardship if they are required to pick up a sufficient knowledge of Hindi in order to receive instruction at the proposed University. Even at present, a considerable number of students come to Benares from Madras, which is the only part of India where Hindi is not understood by most people. They come to learn Sanskrit, and as a rule, they acquire a knowledge of Hindi in a short time. As the resources of our community are at present limited, it seems wise to concentrate all energies and resources to build up one great institution at a central place, where the knowledge of the various arts and sciences, needed to promote prosperity among the people, should be made available to as large a number of the youth of the country as

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possible. When this institution has been well established and fully equipped, it will be time to consider the desirability of establishing branches of the University at one or more centres in each presidency or province.

It may be asked why not employ English as the medium of instruction, at least in the beginning, as it will be easier for the professors, not only for such of them as will be foreigners, but also for those who may come from Bengal or Madras, to teach through it. The reason is that, as the object is to make the benefits of the lectures available to the largest possible number of the youth of the country, that language should be the medium of instruction which the majority of them will be familiar with, or will find it easy to acquire. It is felt that the time which Indian students have to spend in acquiring that degree of familiarity with a difficult language like the English which is necessary to enable them to follow lectures in that language, would suffice to enable them to acquire a fair practical knowledge of the subject of their study if it is pursued through the medium of the vernacular. Another reason is that if lectures are not required to be delivered in the vernacular from the beginning, the preparation of text-books in Indian vernaculars will be delayed, which will lead practically to a continued use of English as the means of instruction.

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One of the first steps to be taken by the University will be to have treatises on various sciences and arts written in Sanskrit and modern Indian languages by specialists who, while possessed of expert knowledge in their respective subjects, will also have a thorough command over the elegant and accurate language, and the ingenious and impressive methods, employed in the standard works in Sanskrit on medicine, astronomy, meteorology, philosophy, music and other technical subjects. The treatises will be designed to bring their respective subjects within the comprehension of Indian students who do not know any foreign language. They will treat the sciences and arts as if they had been developed in India. In short, all that is useful and beneficial in the modern civilization will be adapted for easy absorption and assimilation with the civilization of India.

The task of creating a vernacular literature which will serve as a medium for higher instruction in technical and scientific subjects is, no doubt, a difficult one, and will require much time and labour to accomplish it. But there is no difficulty which will not yield to earnestness and perseverance; and whatever has to be done must be begun, however long it may take in doing. The progress achieved in that direction by nations which did not inherit a national literature such as ours, also affords

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an example which ought to encourage us in the endeavour.

It is proposed that the services of the most competent teachers should be secured, whether they be foreigners or Indians, to impart instruction in the different branches of learning at the University. The lectures of some of the teachers may in the beginning have to be translated into Hindi. But it is hoped that they will, in the course of time, acquire a sufficient practical knowledge of Hindi to be able to deliver lectures in that language. Whenever a professor is unfamiliar with the vernacular, an assistant will be given to him to translate his lectures to the students.

A scheme of this magnitude will necessarily cost a large amount of money. Large sums will be required to meet the initial expenses of acquiring land, constructing and fitting up the necessary buildings, furnishing libraries, laboratories and workshops, securing the services of the teaching staff, and providing stipends for deserving but poor students. It is proposed to raise one hundred lakhs of rupees to meet the initial expenses and to create an endowment the interest of which will be sufficient to maintain the institution. At least one-half of this sum will be allotted to the promotion of scientific, technical and industrial education. Yearly, half-yearly and

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monthly subscriptions will also be invited, and will, it is hoped, bring in a considerable sum to supplement the income from the endowment. A hundred lakhs is, no doubt, a large sum to raise in India for a non-official educational institution. But there is reason to believe that if Hindu chiefs, noblemen, and other leading members of the Hindu community in all parts of India are once convinced that the scheme is a sound one, that is to say that it is calculated to promote in a sufficient degree, the happiness and prosperity of the people, the money will be forthcoming. Thousands of hearts are distressed to think that in a country so fertile in natural resources as India, the great bulk of the people who have inherited a noble religion and an advanced civilization, should be wallowing in the mire of ignorance and poverty and pressed down by so many social and economical evils and disadvantages. Many institutions have been started during the past few decades in different places, with the one object of ameliorating the condition of the people. These efforts have done and are doing much good. But as they derive their support from limited area and circles, they are handicapped for want of adequate resources, and the benefits they confer are necessarily limited. It is, therefore, high time to create an institution which will derive its support from the resources of the Hindu community in all parts of India and will work for the moral and material

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advancement of the whole of that community. If such an institution is brought into existence, it is believed that thousands of earnest well-wishers of their country will gladly contribute their time, energies and resources towards its success.

Subject to approval by leaders of the community in different parts of the country, and conditional on the acquisition of sufficient land, the seat of the University will be on the banks of the Ganges at Benares, which has from time immemorial been the centre of Hindu learning. Attempts will be made to revive the old institution of *kashivas* in old age and to invite Hindu gentlemen of rank and learning in different parts of the country to spend the days of their retirement on the precincts of the University. Even now many Hindus resort to Kashi, to spend the declining years of their life there. It is reasonable to hope that when the proposed University has been established, many more learned and pious men will be attracted to Benares and will regard it a privilege to devote the last years of their life to the cause of their country and their religion.

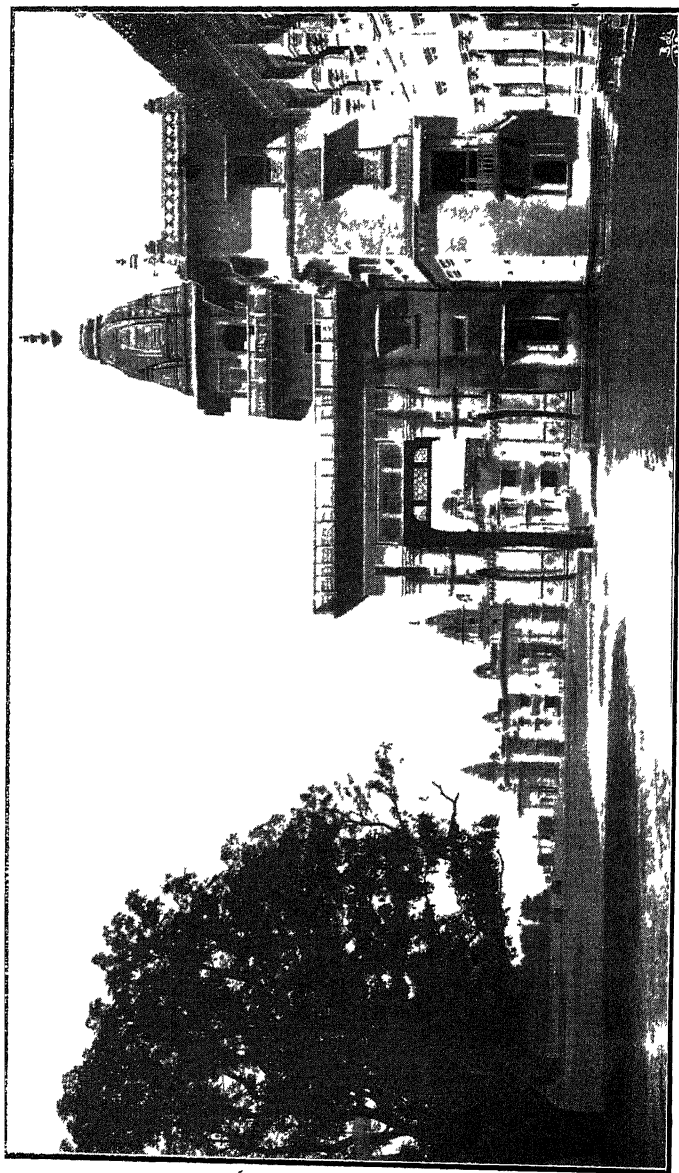
The proper constitution of the governing body of such a national institution is a matter of very great importance for the success of the scheme. It is proposed to invite all Hindu

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ruling chiefs, and nobles of high rank to become patrons of the institution, and to appoint their representatives in the governing body which will be composed of the principal noblemen and gentlemen of light and leading in the Hindu community in different parts of India. The rules and regulations of the society will be framed, and the necessary steps taken to place it on a sound and legal footing, when the scheme has been generally approved.

The scheme is now submitted for the consideration of Hindu Chiefs and other Hindu gentlemen of light and leading with the request that they will favour the promoters with their views regarding it and their suggestions for its modification and improvement, so that it may prove to be an effective means of training people to promote material wealth with the aid of advancing scientific knowledge, and to lead virtuous and happy lives in conformity with the injunctions laid down in our sacred books.





TEMPLE-TOWERS OF THE UNIVERSITY

THE HINDU UNIVERSITY OF BENARES

Why it is wanted and what it aims at.

The proposal to establish a Hindu University at Benares was first put forward at a meeting held in 1904 at the 'Mint House' at Benares, which was presided over by H. H. the Maharaja of Benares. A prospectus of the proposed University was published and circulated in October 1905, and it was discussed at a select meeting held at the Town Hall at Benares on the 31st of December, 1905, at which a number of distinguished educationists and representatives of the Hindu community of almost every province of India were present. It was also considered and approved by the Congress of Hindu Religion which met at Allahabad in January 1906. The scheme met with much approval and support both from the press and the public. "To the scheme for establishing a Hindu University," said the *Pioneer* in a leading article, "the most cordial encouragement may be offered.....A crore of rupees does not seem to be an excessive sum for a purpose so clearly excellent, and which no doubt appeals to a very numerous class....."

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Even if Mahomedans and Christians do not hasten to embrace the opportunities offered under the most liberal constitution of this new centre of learning, there are two hundred million Hindus to whom it should appeal as a true Alma Mater, and surely no greater constituency could be desired." The Hon. Sir James La Touche, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, was pleased to bless it in the following words:—

"If the cultured classes throughout India are willing to establish a Hindu University with its colleges clustered round it, they have my best wishes for its success. But if the institution is to be first-rate, the cost will be very great and the bulk of the money must be found elsewhere than in this province. At this era of the world's progress no one will desire or approve a second-rate institution."

This was in 1906. The scheme has ever since been kept alive by discussions and consultations with a view to begin work. But owing to circumstances which need not be mentioned here, an organised endeavour to carry out the proposal had to be put off year after year until last year. Such endeavour would assuredly have been begun last year. But the lamented death of our late King-Emperor, and the schemes for Imperial and Provincial memorials to his Majesty, and the

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All-India memorials to the retiring Viceroy, came in, and the project of the University had yet to wait. Efforts have now been going on since January last to realise the long-cherished idea. As the result of the discussion which has gone on, the scheme has undergone some important changes. It has generally been agreed that the proposed University should be a residential and teaching University of the modern type. No such University exists at present in India. All the five Universities which exist are mainly examining Universities. They have done and are doing most useful work. But the need for a University which will teach as well as examine, and which by reason of being a residential University, will realise the ideal of University life as it was known in the past in India, and as it is known in the present in the advanced countries of the West, has long been felt, and deserves to be satisfied.

The Objects.

The objects of the University have been thus formulated :—

- (i) To promote the study of the Hindu Shastras and of Samskrit literature generally as a means of preserving and popularising for the benefit of the Hindus in particular and of the world

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at large in general, the best thought and culture of the Hindus, and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India ;

- (ii) to promote learning and research generally in arts and science in all branches ;
- (iii) to advance and diffuse such scientific technical and professional knowledge, combined with the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous industries and in developing the material resources of the country ; and
- (iv) to promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.

The Colleges.

It is proposed that to carry out these objects, as, and so far as funds should permit, the University should comprise the following colleges :—

- (1) A Samskrit College—with a Theological department ;
- (2) A College of Arts and Literature ;
- (3) A College of Science and Technology ;
- (4) A College of Agriculture ;

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- (5) A College of Commerce ;
- (6) A College of Medicine ; and
- (7) A College of Music and the Fine Arts.

It will thus be seen that the faculties which it is proposed to constitute at the University are those very faculties which generally find recognition at every modern University in Europe and America. There is no proposal as yet to establish a Faculty of Law ; but this omission can easily be made good if there is a general desire that the study of Law should also be provided for.

The Samskrit College.

The Colleges have been somewhat differently named now. The Vaidik College of the old scheme has given place to the Samskrit College with a Theological department,—where satisfactory provision can be made for the teaching of the Vedas also. Over a hundred years ago (in the year 1791), Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, proposed to Earl Cornwallis, the Governor-General, 'that a certain portion of the surplus revenue of the province or zamindari of Benares should be set apart for the support of a Hindu college or academy for the preservation of the Samskrit literature and religion of that nation, at this the centre of their faith and the common resort

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of their tribes.’ The proposal was approved by the Governor-General, and the Samskrit College was established. From that time it has been the most important institution for the preservation and the promotion of Samskrit learning throughout India. The debt of gratitude which the Hindu community owes to the British Government for having made this provision for the study of Samskrit learning can never be repaid. And it is in every way meet and proper that instead of establishing a new college in the same city where the same subjects will be taught, the Government should be approached with a proposal to incorporate this college with the proposed University. If the proposal meets with the approval of the Government, as it may reasonably be hoped that it will, all that will then be necessary will be to add a theological department to the Samskrit College for the teaching of the Vedas. When the Samskrit College was started, four chairs had been provided for the teaching of the four Vedas. But they were all subsequently abolished. This has long been a matter for regret. Mr. George Nicholls, a former Headmaster of the Samskrit College, wrote in 1844: ‘Considering the high antiquity of this branch of learning (the Vedas).....it is a pity that in a college established by Government for the express purpose of not only cultivating but preserving Hindu literature, studies of the

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highest antiquarian value should have been discouraged by the abolition of the Veda Professorships. The Vedas have a more than antiquarian value for the Hindus. They are the primary source of their religion. And it is a matter of reproach to the Hindus, that while excellent provision is made for the study and elucidation of the Vedas in Germany and America, there is not one single first-rate institution in this country for the proper study of these sacred books. An effort will be made to remove this reproach by establishing a good Vaidik School at this University. This, if done, will complete the provision for the higher study of Samskrit literature at Kashi, the ancient seat of ancient learning. The Vaidik School will naturally have an *ashram* or hostel attached to it for the residence of Brahmacharis, some of whom may be trained as teachers of religion. The substitution of the name, 'the Samskrit College' for the Vaidik College in the scheme, has been made in view of this possible incorporation.

The College of Arts and Literature.

The second college will be a College of Arts and Literature, where languages, comparative philology, philosophy, history, political economy, pedagogics, &c., will be taught. It is proposed that the existing Central Hindu

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College at Benares should be made the nucleus of this College. The self-sacrifice and devotion which have built up this first-class institution, must be thankfully acknowledged; and, if the terms of incorporation can be satisfactorily settled, as they may well be, the College should be taken up by the University, and improved and developed so as to become the premier college on the arts side of the University. This incorporation and development will be both natural and reasonable, and there is reason to hope that the authorities of the Central Hindu College will agree to this being done.

The College of Science and Technology.

The third college will be the College of Science and Technology, with four well-equipped departments of pure and applied sciences. It is proposed that this should be the first college to be established by the University. In the present economic condition of India there is no branch of education for which there is greater need than scientific and technical instruction. All thoughtful observers are agreed that the salvation of the country from many of the economic evils to which it is at present exposed lies in the diversion of a substantial portion of the population from agricultural to industrial pursuits. This demands a multiplication of the existing

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facilities for technical and industrial education. Decades ago the Famine Commission of 1878 said in their Report: "At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the people, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to earn the means of subsistence in manufactures and such employments." Speaking nearly a quarter of a century after, in his very able opening address to the Industrial Conference which met at Naini Tal in 1907, the Hon'ble Sir John Hewett said:—"It is clear that, in spite of some hopeful signs, we have hardly as yet started on the way towards finding industrial employment, by means of the scientific improvements brought about in the art of manufacture, for the surplus portion of our 42 or 50 millions of population. * * "It is impossible for any one interested in the industrial development of this country to study the annual trade returns without lamenting that so much valuable raw produce which might be made up locally, should leave our ports annually to be conveyed to other countries, there to be converted into manufactured articles, and often be re-imported into India in that form. * * *

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Mr. Holland will perhaps regret most the continued exports of mineral products capable of being worked up locally into manufactured articles, and I certainly share his regret; but I confess that my chief regrets are at present over the enormous export of hides, cotton, and seed because these raw products could be so very easily worked up into manufactures in our midst." * * * "We cannot regulate the sunshine and the shower; the seed time and the harvest; that is beyond the power of man. But we can control, to some extent, the disposal of the products of the earth, thereby opening new avenues to employment and spreading greater prosperity over the land." And in another part of the same address, the distinguished speaker urged that in order that this should be possible, technical education must be promoted." "It does seem to me to be an axiom," said Sir John Hewett, "that there is a very close connection between education and the progress of industries and trade. Undoubtedly this truth has not been sufficiently recognized in India, and to my mind its backwardness in industries and trade is largely due to the failure to recognize the importance of organization on a proper basis of its system of education."

The introduction of such a system was strongly advocated by the Hon'ble Mr. S. H. Butler in an excellent note which he prepared

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for the said Industrial Conference. Mr. Butler there drew attention to “the remarkable growth and expansion of technical education in the West and Japan of recent years,” which “marks at once changes in industrial conditions and in educational ideals,” and urged the need of making the beginning of a similar system of education in the United Provinces. Among many other useful recommendations was one for the establishment of a Technological Institute at Cawnpore. In speaking of it Mr. Butler said:—“A few technical sholarships—tenable across the seas,—excellent though they are—can never supply the impetus of a technological institute. *Every civilised country has its technological institutes in numbers.*” (The italics are ours.).....“In the beginning all these institutions were, doubtless, humble; but it is still true that in countries yearning to be industrial technical education has begun largely at the top. Technical education lower down followed as a rule after the spread of general education.”

It is a matter of sincere satisfaction that accepting the recommendations of the Industrial Conference, which were strongly supported by the Government of the United Provinces, the Government of India has been pleased to sanction the establishment of a Technological Institute at Cawnpore; that the Roorki College has been greatly strengthened and improved; and that some other note-worthy steps have

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been taken to promote technical education in the United Provinces. Progress has been recorded in some other Provinces also. We must feel deeply thankful to the Government for what they have done and are doing in this direction; but we should at the same time remember that there is need for much more to be done in this vast country, and should recognise that it is not right for us to look to the State alone to provide all the scientific and technical education that is needed by the people. We should recognise that it is the duty and the privilege of the public—particularly of the wealthy and charitable among them—to loyally supplement the efforts of the Government in this direction. The remarks of the late Director-General of Statistics in India made about a year ago are quite pertinent to this subject and may usefully be quoted here. Wrote Mr. O’Cornor:—

“I hope the leaders of the industrial movement (in India) will not make the mistake of thinking that the acquisition of technical skill may be limited to the artisan class. It is, on the contrary, essentially necessary that the younger members of families of good social status should learn the best methods of running a large factory and qualify for responsible executive positions in such a factory. Technical schools and colleges are wanted, and, as usual, the tendency is to look to the State to

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supply them. Let me recommend, however, that the community should found them and should be content with grants-in-aid from the State. The late Mr. Tata of Bombay gave a noble example of how such things should be done, and I wish there were even ten other men like him, patriotic, independent, far-seeing and splendidly public-spirited, ready to do something like what he did."

It is not perhaps the good fortune of India at present to discover to the world ten more such splendidly public-spirited sons as the late Jamshedjee Nuseerwanjee Tata. But it is not too much to hope that the high and the humble among her sons of the Hindu community, have sufficient public spirit to raise by their united contributions a sum equal to at least twice the amount which that noble son of India offered for the good of his countrymen, to build up a College of Science and Technology which should be a great centre for scattering broadcast among the people a knowledge of the known results of scientific investigation and research in their practical applications to industry, and thus form a necessary complement to the Research Institute at Bangalore and to the proposed Technological Institute at Cawnpore.

The College of Agriculture.

It is proposed that the second college to be established should be the College of

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Agriculture. For a country where more than two-thirds of the population depend for their subsistence on the soil, the importance of agriculture cannot be exaggerated. Even when manufacturing industries have been largely developed, agriculture is bound to remain the greatest and the most important national industry of India. Besides, Agriculture is the basic industry on which most of the other industries depend. As the great scientist Baron Leibig has said—'perfect agriculture is the foundation of all trade and industry—is the foundation of the riches of the State.' The prosperity of India is, therefore, most closely bound up with the improvement of its agriculture. The greatest service that can be rendered to the teeming millions of this country is to make two blades of grass grow where only one grows at present. The experience of the West has shown that this result can be achieved by means of scientific agriculture. A comparison of the present outturn per acre in this country with what was obtained here in former times and what is yielded by the land of other countries shows the great necessity and the vast possibility of improvement in this direction. Wheat land in the United Provinces which now gives 840 lbs. an acre yielded 1,140 lbs. in the time of Akbar. The average yield of wheat per acre in India is 700 lbs; in England it is 1,700 lbs. Of rice the yield in India is 800 lbs., as against 2,500lbs.

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in Bavaria. America produces many times more of cotton and of wheat per acre than we produce in India. This marvellously increased production in the West is the result of the application of science to agriculture. The February number of the Journal of the Board of Agriculture draws attention to the fact that in the single State of Ontario which subsidises the Guelph College of Agriculture to the extent of £ 25,000 annually, the material return for this outlay is officially stated as follows:—"The application of scientific principles to the practical operations of the farm, and the interchange and dissemination of the results of experiments conducted at the College and the practical experience of successful farmers, have increased the returns from the farm far in excess of the expenditure on account thereof. The direct gain in yield in one class of grain alone has more than covered the total cost of agricultural education and experimental work in the Province." There is no reason why resort to scientific methods should not yield equally satisfactory results here.

In the Resolution on Education which the Government of India published in 1904, they noted that 'the provision for agricultural education in India is at present meagre and stands seriously in need of expansion and reorganisation.' Much progress has been made since then. An Imperial Agricultural College

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and Research Institute have been established at Pusa, and Provincial Agricultural Colleges have been improved. For all this we must feel thankful to the Government. But the need for more provision for agricultural education is still very great, and it is believed that an agricultural college, established and maintained by the voluntary contribution of the people, is likely to prove specially useful in making the study of agricultural science much more popular and fruitful than it is at present.

The College of Commerce.

It is proposed that the third college to be established should be the College of Commerce and Administration. The importance of commercial education—that is, a special training for the young men who intend to devote themselves to commercial pursuits—as a factor in national and international progress is now fully recognised in the advanced countries of the West. Those nations of the West which are foremost in the commerce of the world have devoted the greatest attention to commercial education. Germany was the first to recognise the necessity and usefulness of this kind of education. America followed suit; so did Japan; and during the last fifteen years England has fully made up its deficiency in institutions for commercial education. The Universities of Birmingham and Manchester

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have special Faculties of Commerce with the diploma of Bachelor of Commerce. So has the University of Leeds. Professor Less Smith, who came to India two years ago at the invitation of the Government of Bombay, in addressing the Indian Industrial Conference at Madras, said—"The leaders of commerce and business need to be scientifically trained just as a doctor or a barrister or professional man is.....Modern experience shows us that business requires administrative capacity of the very highest type. It needs not merely technical knowledge, but it needs the power of dealing with new situations, of going forward at the right moment and of controlling labour. These are just the qualities which Universities have always claimed as being their special business to foster; and we, therefore, say that if you are going to fulfil any of the hopes which were held out yesterday by your President, if you are going to take into your own hands the control of the commerce of this nation, then you must produce wide-minded, enterprising men of initiative, men who are likely to be produced by the University Faculties of Commerce....The University Faculty of Commerce is intended, of course, to train the judgment and to mould the minds of men. It is claimed that although it must give primarily a liberal education, it is possible to give that education which has a direct practical bearing on business life....That kind of man (a man so

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trained) has immense possibilities in the world of commerce; he is the kind of man on whom you must depend to lead you in the industrial march in the future."

When it is remembered that the export and the import trade of India totals up more than 300 crores of rupees every year, it can easily be imagined what an amount of employment can be found for our young men in the various branches of commerce, in and out of the country, if satisfactory arrangements can be made to impart to them the necessary business education and training. The possibilities of development here are truly great; and the establishment of a College of Commerce seems to be urgently called for to help to some extent to make those possibilities real.

The College of Medicine.

It is proposed that the next college to be established should be the College of Medicine. The many Medical Colleges and Schools which the Government have established in various provinces of India, have done and are doing a great deal of good to the people. But the supply of qualified medical men is still far short of the requirements of the country. The graduates and licentiates in medicine and surgery whom these colleges turn out are mostly absorbed by cities and towns. Indeed

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even in these, a large portion of the population is served by Vaidyas and Hakims, who practise, or are supposed to practise, according to the Hindu or Mahomedan system of medicine. In the villages in which the nation dwells, qualified medical practitioners are still very rare. Hospital assistants are employed in the dispensaries maintained by District Boards. But the number of these also is small. The result is that it is believed that vast numbers of the people have to go without any medical aid in fighting against disease, and a large number of them have in their helplessness to welcome the medical assistance of men who are often uninstructed and incompetent. The need for more medical colleges is thus obvious and insistent. In the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Surgeon-General Lukis, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in India, referring to the advice recently given to the Bombay medical men by Dr. Temalji Nariman, exhorted Indians to found more medical colleges. Said Surgeon-General Lukis:—

“In the very excellent speech which we listened to with such interest yesterday, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale when pleading the cause of primary education, said that this was a case in which it was necessary that there should be the cordial co-operation of the Government with the public. May I be allowed to invert the

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terms and say—‘this is a case where we want the cordial co-operation of the public with the ‘Government.’ I hope that the wealthy and charitable public will bear this in mind, and I can assure them that if they will do anything to advance the scheme for the institution of unofficial medical colleges, entirely officered by Indians, they will not only be conferring a benefit on the profession, but on their country at large.....It is well known that the Government medical colleges and schools cannot accommodate more than a fraction of those who ask for admission. In Calcutta alone, as I know from personal experience, over 200 candidates have to be rejected every year, and there is therefore ample room for well-equipped and properly staffed unofficial medical colleges and schools which may be either affiliated to the University or run on the same lines as a Government medical school but entirely conducted by Indian medical men; and I look forward to the time when in every important centre in India we shall have well-equipped unofficial medical schools working in friendly rivalry with the Government medical schools, and each institution striving its hardest to see which can get the best results at the University examinations. As Dr. Nariman said, this may take years to accomplish, but I earnestly hope that, before I say farewell to India, I shall see it an accomplished fact, at any rate in Calcutta and Bombay; and if I have said anything

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to-day which will induce the leaders of the people to give the scheme their cordial support, I feel, sir, that I shall not have wasted the time of the Council by interposing in this debate."

The distinguishing feature of the proposed Medical College at Benares will be that Hindu medical science will be taught here along with the European system of medicine and surgery. Hindu medical science has unfortunately received less attention and recognition than it deserves. Hippocrates, who is called the 'Father of Medicine,' because he first cultivated the subject as a science in Europe, has been shown to have borrowed his *materia medica* from the Hindus. 'It is to the Hindus,' says Dr. Wise, late of the Bengal Medical Service, 'we owe the first system of medicine.' 'It will be of some interest to Hindu readers to know,' says Romesh Ch. Dutt in his History of Civilisation in Ancient India, 'when foreign scientific skill and knowledge are required in every district in India for sanitary and medical work, that twenty-two centuries ago, Alexander the Great kept Hindu physicians in his Camp for the treatment of diseases which Greek physicians could not heal, and that eleven centuries ago Haroun-al-Rashid of Bagdad retained two Hindu physicians known in Arabian records as Manka and Saleh, as his own physicians.' Not only throughout the Hindu period—including

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of course the Buddhist—but throughout the Mahomedan period also the Hindu system was the national system of medical relief in India, so far at least as the Hindu world was concerned, and so it remains, to a large extent, even to this day. Being indigenous it is more congenial to the people; treatment under it is cheaper than under the European system; and it has merits of its own which enable it to stand in favourable comparison with other systems. In support of this view it will be sufficient to mention that Kavirajas or Vaidyas who have a good knowledge of Hindu medical works, command a lucrative practice in a city like Calcutta in the midst of a large number of the most competent practitioners of the European system. This being so, it is a matter for regret that there is not even one first class institution throughout the country where such Kavirajas or Vaidyas may be properly educated and trained to practise their very responsible profession. The interests of the Hindu community demand that satisfactory provision should be made at the very least at one centre in the country for the regular and systematic study and improvement of a system which is so largely practised, and is likely to continue to be practised in the country. It is intended that the proposed Medical College of the University should form one such centre. The Hindu system of medicine shall here be brought up to date and enriched by the incorporation

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of the marvellous achievements which modern medical science has made in anatomy, physiology, surgery and all other departments of the healing art, both on the preventive and the curative side. The aim of the institution will be to provide the country with Vaidyas well-qualified both as physicians and surgeons. It is believed that this will be a great service to the cause of suffering humanity in India.

The College of Music and the Fine Arts.

The last college to be established should, it is proposed, be a College of Music and the Fine Arts. The work of this College will be (a) to recover the world of beauty and sublimity which was reared in *ragas* by the æsthetic minds of ancient India, and to bring it within the reach of the cultured classes; (b) to encourage painting and sculpture; and (c) to preserve and promote purity of design in the production of art wares, to arrest the spirit of a slavish imitation of foreign models.

The high value of music in the economy of a nation's healthful and happy existence is fully recognised in the advanced countries of the West. A number of Universities have a special Faculty of Music, and confer degrees of Bachelors, Masters and Doctors of Music. A modern University will be wanting in one of the most elevating influences if it did not provide for a Faculty of Music.

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The Medium of Instruction.

When the idea of a Hindu University was first put forward, it was proposed that instruction should be imparted in general subjects through the medium of one of the vernaculars of the country. It was proposed that that vernacular should be Hindi, as being the most widely understood language in the country. This was supported by the principle laid down in the Despatch of 1854, that a knowledge of European arts and science should gradually be brought by means of the Indian vernaculars, within the reach of all classes of the people. But it is felt that this cannot be done at present owing to the absence of suitable treatises and text-books on science in the vernaculars. It is also recognised that the adoption of one vernacular as the medium of instruction at a University which hopes to draw its *alumni* from all parts of India will raise several difficulties of a practical character which it would be wise to avoid in the beginning.

It has, therefore, been agreed that instruction shall be imparted through the medium of English, but that, as the vernaculars are gradually developed, it will be in the power of the University to allow any one or more of them to be used as the medium of instruction in subjects and courses in which they may consider it practicable and useful to do so. In

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view of the great usefulness of the English language as a language of world-wide utility, English shall even then be taught as a second language.

The Need for the University.

There are at present five Universities in India, *viz.*, those of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad. These are all mainly examining Universities. In founding them, as the Government of India said in their Resolution on Education in 1904, 'the Government of India of that day took as their model the type of institution then believed to be best suited to the educational conditions of India, that is to say, the examining University of London. Since then the best educational thought of Europe has shown an increasing tendency to realize the inevitable shortcomings of a purely examining University, and the London University itself has taken steps to enlarge the scope of its operations by assuming tuitional functions.....Meanwhile the Indian experience of the last fifty years has proved that a system which provides merely for examining students in those subjects to which their aptitudes direct them, and does not at the same time compel them to study those subjects systematically under first-rate instruction, tends inevitably to accentuate certain characteristic defects of the Indian intellect—

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the development of the memory out of all proportion to the other faculties of the mind, the incapacity to observe and appreciate facts, and the taste for metaphysical and technical distinctions.' Besides, a merely examining University can do little to promote the formation of character, which, it is generally agreed, is even more important for the well-being of the individual and of the community, than the cultivation of intellect. These and similar considerations point to the necessity of establishing residential and teaching Universities in India of the type that exist in all the advanced countries of the West. The proposed University will be such a University—a Residential and Teaching University. It will thus supply a distinct want which has for some time been recognised both by the Government and the public, and will, it is hoped, prove a most valuable addition to the educational institutions of the country.

But even if the existing Universities were all teaching Universities, the creation of many more new Universities would yet be called for in the best interests of the country. If India is to know, in the words of the great Educational Despatch of 1854, those 'vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England'; if her

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children are to be enabled to build up indigenous industries in the face of the unequal competition of the most advanced countries of the West, the means of higher education in this country, particularly of scientific, industrial and technical education, will have to be very largely increased and improved. To show how great is the room for improvement, it will be sufficient to mention that as against five examining Universities in a vast country like India, which is equal to the whole of Europe *minus* Russia, there are eighteen Universities in the United Kingdom, which is nearly equal in area and population to only one province of India, namely, the United Provinces; fifteen in France; twenty-one in Italy; and twenty-two State-endowed Universities in Germany, besides many other Universities in other countries of Europe. In the United States of America, there are 134 State and privately endowed Universities. The truth is that University education is no longer regarded in the West as the luxury of the rich, which concerns only those who can afford to pay heavily for it. Such education is now regarded as of the highest national concern, as essential for the healthy existence and progress of every nation which is exposed to the relentless industrial warfare which is going on all over the civilised world.

How sadly India has suffered in this new warfare was well described in an excellent paper on the industrial development of India

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which Sir Guilford Molesworth, K. C. I. E., contributed to the First Indian Industrial Conference at Benares in 1905. He there truly observed:—

“India presents the strange spectacle of a country, formerly rich, prosperous, and in a manner highly civilized, of which the native industries are now decadent, being crushed out under the stress of modern civilization and progress.”

“Of India’s vast population of 300,000,000 souls about 60 per cent. are supported by agriculture. This leaves a large residuum available for other industrial purposes: but the arts and crafts for which India has been so justly celebrated whether metallurgical or textile, whether of cutlery, glass, pottery, silks, carpets, or other industries are dead or dying.

“Throughout the country may be found old slag-heaps, testifying to the former prosperity of native iron industries, the splendid native iron being now superseded by the cheap worthless metal of foreign manufacture. Everywhere may be seen evidence of flourishing industries of the past, whether in the huge forty-ton brass gun of Bijapur, in the great iron column of the Kutub, in the magnificent inlaid marble, fretwork and the carving of the tombs, palaces, and mosques. It may also be

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seen in the glass, pottery, shawls, carpets, and silks in the *toshakhana*s of many of the Rajahs, and also in the ruins of indigo factories." * * *

"In connection with this subject I may quote the following from an article which I contributed to the *Calcutta Review* more than twenty years ago:—"India, the land of the pagoda tree. India, the mine of wealth, India, the admiration of Marco Polo, and of travellers of former times. India in poverty! Midas starving amid heaps of gold does not afford a greater paradox: yet here we have India, Midas like, starving in the midst of untold wealth."

"For India has untold wealth: wonderful natural resources, whether agricultural, mineral or industrial, but they are to a great extent dormant. It has coal of an excellent quality, it has fine petroleum, large quantities of timber and charcoal; it has iron of a purity that would make an English iron-master's mouth water, spread wholesale over the country, in most places to be had by light quarrying over the surface; it has chrome iron capable of making the finest Damascus blades, manganiferous ore, splendid hematites in profusion. It has gold, silver, antimony, precious stones, asbestos; soft wheat, equal to the finest Australian, hard wheat, equal to the finest Kabanka. It has food-grains of every description: oilseeds, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, spices; lac,

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dyes, cotton, jute, hemp, flax, coir, fibres of every description; in fact, products too numerous to mention. Its inhabitants are frugal, thrifty, industrious, capable of great physical exertions, docile, easily taught, skilful in any work requiring delicate manipulation. Labour is absurdly cheap, and the soil for the most part wonderfully productive."

"Ball, in his 'Economic Geology of India,' says: 'Were India wholly isolated from the rest of the world, or its mineral productions protected from competition, there cannot be the least doubt that she would be able, from within her own boundaries, to supply nearly all the requirements, in so far as the mineral world is concerned, of a highly civilized community.' I may add that this remark is applicable not only to mineral products, but also to almost every other article of produce. * * *

"Some forty or fifty years ago, Japan was as backward as any Eastern nation, but she has developed her resources from within," or, in other words, by the people in conjunction with the Government. * * * The success of this policy has been apparent in the wonderful development of Japanese industries built upon 'a system of technical education which included every thing required to enable her to occupy her proper place among the manufacturing nations of the world.'"

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The agricultural exports of Japan including raw silk formed 51·6 per cent. of the total exports in 1890. They had fallen to 37·8 per cent. in 1902, while her industrial exports had risen from 18 to 38 per cent.

Speaking a few years ago, Sir Philip Magnus said:—"The intimate connection between industrial progress and scientific activity does not admit of question. But if positive proof is needed, it will be found in the concurrent development of the trade of Germany and of the facilities provided in that country for the scientific training of the people. Other causes have undoubtedly contributed to the commercial prosperity of Germany; but after making every allowance for these, we are confronted with the fact that these industries depend for their successful working upon the application of the most advanced scientific knowledge, and that the German people have recognized this dependence by providing, at a cost vastly exceeding any like expenditure by this country, the best possible facilities for scientific training and research. This fixed policy has changed Germany from an agricultural to a manufacturing nation." In 1871, Germany was a nation of 39 millions of inhabitants, of whom 60 per cent. were engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1901 it had increased to an Empire of 58 million inhabitants, of whom 35 per cent. were engaged in agriculture

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and 65 per cent.—nearly two-thirds—in industry and trade.” Between 1870 and 1900 the number of students at German Universities at technical and other high schools has increased from 17,761 to 46,520.”

India too has felt the effect of this change. Our indigo industry has been killed by the scientifically manufactured artificial indigo of Germany. The aniline dyes proclaim it everywhere. The ancient sugar industry of India is being steadily undermined by the competition of foreign sugar. In the course of an extremely valuable paper ‘On the development of the mineral resources of India,’ which Sir Thomas (then Mr.) Holland, Director of the Geological Survey of India, contributed to the First Industrial Conference held at Benares in 1905, he said :—

“As one result of the application of science to sugar manufacture in Europe, Austria alone last year sent sugar to India to the value of 138 lakhs of rupees. (The value of the sugar imported from various countries into India amounted last year to over 10 crores.) When a country, with a temperate climate, can beat the manufactures of natural tropical product in their own climate, and at a distance of 5,000 miles, it is time for us to review our methods of work with critical faculties well alert. How many other Indian industries,

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depending solely on the advantages of natural conditions, are in danger of extermination by applied science in Europe?"

In concluding his paper, Sir Thomas Holland said :—

"Our poverty is not in material, but in men capable of turning the natural material into the finished product. We want more than Government provision for technical scholarships: we want a reformation in the *tastes* of our students; we want them to learn that the man with technical dexterity is of more use to the country than the writer of editorials or the skilful cross-examiner; that applied science now belongs to the highest caste of learning, and is a worthy field for the best ability we can obtain.

"As far as our mineral resources are concerned, there is unlimited room for profitable enterprise: the country is sufficiently endowed by Nature, not only to meet its own requirements, but to take advantage of its central position for competing with others in the Indian Ocean markets; but until we find the chemical, metallurgical and mechanical workshops as attractive to our high-caste students, as the class-rooms for law and literature now are, the cry of *Swadeshi*, no matter how worthy the spirit it embodies, will remain but an empty word."

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The endeavour to establish the proposed University is being made in the hope and belief that a people's University, as it pre-eminently will be, will succeed in a larger measure than other Universities, in making the chemical, metallurgical and mechanical workshops as attractive to our high-caste students as the class-rooms of law and literature now are.

Moral Progress.

Training of Teachers of Religion.

Enough has been said above to show the need for a University such as it is proposed to establish, to help the diffusion of general, scientific and technical education as a means of preserving or reviving national industries and of utilising the natural resources of India and thereby augmenting national wealth. But mere industrial advancement cannot ensure happiness and prosperity to any people; nor can it raise them in the scale of nations. Moral progress is even more necessary for that purpose than material. Even industrial prosperity cannot be attained in any large measure without mutual confidence and loyal co-operation amongst the people who must associate with each other for the purpose. These qualities can prevail and endure only amongst those who are upright in their dealings, strict in the observance of good faith, and

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steadfast in their loyalty to truth. And such men can be generally met with in a society only when that society is under the abiding influence of a great religion acting as a living force.

Every nation cherishes its own religion. The Hindus are no exception to the rule. On the contrary, probably no other people on earth are more deeply attached to their religion than the Hindus. If they were asked to-day for which of the many blessings which they enjoy under British rule, they are more grateful than for the others, they would probably unhesitatingly name religious freedom. Sir Herbert observed in his report on the Census of 1901, that "Hinduism with its 207 million votaries is *the* religion of India ;" that that "it is professed in one or other of its multi-farious forms by 7 persons out of 10, and predominates everywhere except in the more inaccessible tracts in the heart and on the outskirts." The importance of providing for the education of the teachers of a religion so ancient, so widespread, and so deep-rooted in the attachment of its followers, is quite obvious. If no satisfactory provision is made to properly educate men for this noble calling, ill-educated or uneducated and incompetent men must largely fill it. This can only mean injury to the cause of religion and loss to the community. Owing to the extremely limited number of teachers of

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religion who are qualified by their learning and character to discharge their holy functions, the great bulk of the Hindus including princes, noblemen, the gentry, and—barring exceptions here and there—even Brahmans, have to go without any systematic religious education or spiritual ministrations. This state of things is in marked contrast with that prevailing in the civilised countries of Europe and America. where religion, as a rule, forms a necessary part of education; where large congregations assemble in churches to hear sermons preached by well-educated clergymen, discharging their duties under the control of well-established Church governments or religious societies. But though the fact is greatly to be deplored, it is not to be wondered at. The old system which supplied teachers of religion has, in consequence of the many vicissitudes through which India has passed, largely died out. It has not yet been replaced by modern organisations to train such teachers. To remove this great want, to make suitable provision for satisfying the religious requirements of the Hindu community, it is proposed to establish a large school or college at the University to educate teachers of the Hindu religion. It is proposed that they should receive a sound grounding in liberal education, make a special and thorough study of their own sacred books, and a comparative study of the great religious systems of the world; in other words, that they

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should receive at least as good an education and training as ministers of their religion as Christian Missionaries receive in their own.

Of course several chairs will have to be created to meet the requirements of the principal denominations of Hindus. How many these should be, can only be settled later on by a conference of the representative men of the community. But there seems to be no reason to despair that an agreement will be arrived at regarding the theological department of the University. Hindus have for ages been noted for their religious toleration. Large bodies of Hindus in the Punjab, who adhere to the ancient faith, revere the Sikh Gurus who abolished caste. The closest ties bind together Sikh and non-Sikh Hindus, and Jains and Agarwals who follow the ancient faith. Followers of the Acharyas of different Sampradayas live and work together as good neighbours and friends. So also do the followers of the Sanatan Dharma and of the Arya Samaj, and of the Brahmo Samaj. And they all co-operate in matters where the common interests of the Hindu community as a whole are involved. This toleration and good-feeling have not been on the wane; on the contrary they have been steadily growing. There is visible at present a strong desire for greater union and solidarity among all the various sections of the community, a growing consciousness of common ties which bind them together

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and which make them sharers in sorrow and in joy; and it may well be hoped that this growing feeling will make it easier than before to adjust differences, and to promote brotherly good-feeling and harmonious co-operation even in the matter of providing for the religious needs of the different sections of the community.

The constitution of the Theological Faculty which has been proposed has called forth some adverse criticism. The objections which have been urged, may well be considered, as they must be, when the conference which has been suggested above meets. But it may safely be said that good sense and good brotherly feeling will help to bring about a solution which will meet with the assent and approval of the community at large.

Religious Instruction of Students.

This is a service which the proposed University will render to the Hindu community as a whole. It will render a special service to the youth of that community. It will be its special solicitude to instruct every Hindu young man, who comes within the sphere of its influence, in the tenets of his noble religion. In Europe and America, secular education is, as a rule, combined with religious education. In India also the sentiment in favour of combining the two kinds of instruction has

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come down from the most ancient times. Notwithstanding this, however, owing to the differences in the faiths followed by the British rulers of India and the people of this country, the Government felt themselves constrained, when inaugurating the otherwise excellent system of public instruction which obtains here, to exclude religious instruction from State colleges and schools.

The wisdom and liberality of sentiment which underlie this decision are highly commendable; but the imperfections and evils arising from a dissociation of two parts which go to make up a complete whole, have yet long been recognised and regretted both by the Government and the public. Many years ago, a former Chancellor of the University of Calcutta said in his address at the Convocation "that a system of education which makes no provision for religious teaching is essentially imperfect and incomplete." The Education Commission which was appointed during the time of Lord Ripon and which was presided over by Sir William Hunter, went at great length into this question. The Commissioners said in their Report:—"The evidence we have taken shows that in some Provinces there is a deeply-seated and widely spread desire that culture and religion should not be divorced, and that this desire is shared by some representatives of native thought in every Province,

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In Government institutions this desire cannot be gratified. The declared neutrality of the State forbids its connecting the institutions directly maintained by it with any form of faith; and the other alternative of giving equal facilities in such institutions for the inculcation of all forms of faith involves practical difficulties which we believe to be insuperable. In Chapter VI we have shown that we are not insensible to the high value of the moral discipline and example which Government institutions are able to afford; but we have also shown that we regard something beyond this as desirable for the formation of character and the awakening of thought. To encourage the establishment of institutions of widely different types, in which may be inculcated such forms of faith as various sections of the community may accept, whether side by side with or in succession to Government institutions, is one mode in which this difficulty can be practically solved."

The Commission recognised that this mode of providing for religious education was "not free from objections and even dangers of its own." That danger, in their opinion, was that "a denominational college runs some risk of confining its benefits to a particular section of the community, and thus of deepening the lines of difference already existing." But this danger is minimised in the case of a University

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like the one proposed which has laid it down as one of its cardinal articles of association that "all colleges, schools and institutions of the University, except the theological department, shall be open to students of all creeds and classes," and which has provided that while "religious education shall be compulsory in the case of all Hindu students of the University," attendance at religious lectures will not be compulsory in the case of non-Hindus, or of students whose parents or guardians may have a conscientious objection to their wards attending such lectures." But even without taking it into account that the danger which they apprehended might be minimised by a denominational institution being quite liberal in practically opening all its classes to students of every creed and class, the Commission still recommended that encouragement should be given to the establishment of denominational institutions, for they considered it to be the only proper solution of the question of religious education. And they rightly pointed out that "this is a solution of the difficulty suggested by the Despatch of 1854, which expresses the hope "that institutions conducted by all denominations of Christians, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, or any other religious persuasions, may be affiliated to the Universities."

The recommendation of the Commission

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has received much practical support from the public of many important denominations in this country. The number of denominational institutions has been steadily growing. In the first place there are the numerous colleges and schools maintained by Missionary societies. Then there is the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, and many other Islamic colleges and schools. There is the Central Hindu College at Benares, the Hindu College at Delhi, the Kayastha Pathashala at Allahabad, the Dayanand Anglo-Vaidic College at Lahore, the Balwant Rajput High School at Agra, the Hewett Kshatriya High School at Benares and several others besides. Mahomedans are now endeavouring to establish a Moslem University at Aligarh, and the Domiciled Christians of India are working for a University of their own. The Government have always recognised the useful part which such institutions play in the economy of Indian education. In their resolution on education, issued in 1904, the Government of India noted the complaint that "the extension in India of an education modelled upon European principles, and so far as Government institutions are concerned, purely secular in character, has stimulated tendencies unfavourable to discipline and has encouraged the growth of a spirit of irreverence in the rising generation." "If any schools or colleges," said the Government of India,

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“produce this result, they fail to realise the object with which they are established—of promoting the moral no less than the intellectual and physical well-being of their students. It is the settled policy of Government to abstain from interfering with the religious instruction given in aided schools. Many of these maintained by native managers or by missionary bodies in various parts of the Empire supply religious and ethical instruction to complete the educational training of their scholars.”

Religious and ethical instruction to complete educational training of their scholars—such are the words of the Government of India. An appreciation of the necessity for supplementing secular with religious education could not be more clearly expressed. The Government went on to say, however, that in Government institutions the instruction must continue to be exclusively secular. But the years that have passed since this was written, have wrought a great change in favour of the introduction of religious education even in Government institutions. Quoting the appeal of the Maharaja of Jaipur, the author of “Indian Unrest” has urged that the resolution of the Government of India of 1904, that instruction in Government institutions must be secular, “is already out of date and certain hours should be set apart

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on specified conditions for religious instruction in the creed which parents desire for their children." A writer in the "Times" recently (Educ. Suppl. Jan. 3, 1911) complained of "the disastrous effect upon the rising generation (in India) of the complete severance of secular education from all religious sanction, and from the moral influences bound up with religion."....."The raising up of loyal and honourable citizens for 'the welfare of the State' cannot, it is urged, be achieved by a *laissez faire* policy in regard to the moral and religious side of education," says another. The question was discussed at the recent Educational Conference held in February last at Allahabad. The Hon'ble Mr. de la Fosse, Director of Public Instruction, U. P., gave expression to a widespread sentiment when he said there that "the public are of opinion that moral instruction must go hand in hand with religious instruction and that moral principles must be based on religious sanctions." He also rightly pointed out that "religious instruction to be effective must be dogmatic, and this stood in the way of any general adoption of such teaching in public schools."

There can be no difficulty, however, in adopting such teaching in denominational institutions. And this is one of the strongest arguments in favour of a denominational

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University that it will be able to make up an acknowledged deficiency in the present system of education; that it will be able, to use the words of the Government of India, to "supply religious and ethical instruction to complete the educational training of their scholars," and thus to lay the surest foundation for the formation of their character.

Formation of Character.

A highly esteemed English writer has well said that "character is human nature in its best form. It is moral order embodied in the individual. Men of character are not only the conscience of society, but in every well-governed state they are its best motive power, for it is moral qualities in the main which rule the world.....The strength, the industry, and the civilization of nations—all depend upon individual character, and the very foundations of civil security rest upon it. Laws and institutions are but its outgrowth. In the just balance of nature, individuals and nations, and races will obtain just so much as they deserve, and no more. And as effect finds its cause, so surely does quality of character amongst a people produce its befitting results." In another place, the same writer has rightly observed, that "although genius always commands admiration, character most secures

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respect. The former is more the product of brain-power, the latter of heart-power; and in the long run it is the heart that rules in life." A Teaching University would but half perform its function if it does not seek to develop the heart-power of its scholars with the same solicitude with which it would develop their brain-power. Hence it is that the proposed University has placed the formation of character in youth as one of its principal objects. It will seek not merely to turn out men as engineers, scientists, doctors, merchants, theologians, but also as men of high character, probity and honour, whose conduct through life will show that they bear the hall-mark of a great University. Such character can be most securely built upon the solid foundation of religion. It must be gratefully acknowledged that the high moral tone which generally pervades classical English literature, and the moral discipline and example which Government institutions are able to afford, have been very helpful in forming the character of English-educated Indians. But it ought to be remembered that where there was no religious instruction at home, there was an inherited religious basis upon which these influences operated. It may well be doubted, whether in the absence of such a basis, the result would have been equally satisfactory. The Education Commission expressed the correct view when

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they said that they were not insensible to the high value of the moral discipline and example which Government institutions are able to afford, but that something beyond this was desirable for the formation of character and the awakening of thought. This something can only be the teaching of religion.

The soundness of this view is forcing itself more and more upon many a thoughtful mind. The problem "how to train character, to create moral ideals, and to give to them a vital and compelling force in the creation of character and the conduct of daily life without basing them on religious sanction," must ever offer great difficulty in solution. The divorce of education from religion is no doubt receiving a trial in certain countries of the West; but in this connection it should always be borne in mind that the "highly developed code of ethics and an inherited sense of social and civic duty" upon which reliance is placed to supply the place of religious sanction, are themselves largely, if not entirely, the product of the religious teachings which have long prevailed in those countries. The fact is, however much some people may dispute it, that religion is in truth the basis of morality, and it is, therefore, the real foundation of character. Without the dominating and ennobling influence of religion, character lacks its best protection and support, and is more likely to be shaken by difficulties

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and to succumb to temptation than it would be, if the roots of its strength lay deep in the immutable principles taught by religion.

And what can be more helpful and effective in the training of the character of Hindu youth than the noble teachings of the Hindu religion ? That religion enjoins truthfulness, integrity, fortitude ; self-help, self-respect, self-control ; abstinence from injury, forgiveness, compassion ; philanthropy, hospitality, unselfish action for public good, reverence for age and authority, discipline and devotion to duty, and above all, the service of God through the service of man and friendliness to the whole creation. In short, all the virtues which elevate human character, support human society, and promote peace on earth and good-will among men, are inculcated by means of solemn injunctions, touching anecdotes and eloquent discourses. Hindu philosophy co-operates with Hindu religious literature in the task of leading man in the path of righteousness, inasmuch as it teaches him that every creature around him is his own self in another guise, and that he rises in the scale of being by doing good to those with whom he comes in contact and degrades himself by injuring his fellow-creatures. A belief in the two great laws of transmigration and *karma* thus acts as an aid and incentive to virtue.

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Organisation Committee.

Such in broad outline is the scheme of the proposed Hindu University. It represents the ideal which the promoters of the scheme desire and hope to work up to. The ideal is not an unattainable one, nor one higher than what is demanded by the condition and capabilities of the people. But the realisation of such an ideal must of course be a work of time.

The scheme outlined above can only serve to indicate the general aim. Definite proposals as to how a beginning should be made, which part or parts of the scheme it would be possible and desirable to take up first and which afterwards, and what practical shape should be given to them, can only be formulated by experts advising with an approximate idea of the funds which are likely to be available for expenditure and any general indication of the wishes of the donors. It is proposed that as soon as sufficient funds have been collected to ensure a beginning being made, an educational Organisation Committee should be appointed to formulate such proposals. The same Committee may be asked to make detailed proposals regarding the scope and character of the courses in the branch or branches that they may recommend to be taken up, regarding also the staff and salaries, the equipment and appliances, the libraries and laboratories, the

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probable amount of accommodation and the buildings etc., which will be required to give effect to their proposals.

The Constitution of the University.

The success of a large scheme like this depends upon the approval and support of (1) the Government, (2) the Ruling Princes, and (3) the Hindu public. The scheme is bound to succeed if it does not fail to enlist sympathy and support from these directions. To establish these essential conditions of success nothing is more important than that the governing body of the University should be of sufficient weight to command respect; that its constitution should be so carefully considered and laid down as to secure the confidence of the Government on the one hand and of the Hindu Princes and public on the other. To ensure this, it is proposed that as soon as a fairly large sum has been subscribed, a Committee should be appointed to prepare and recommend a scheme dealing with the constitution and functions of the Senate, which shall be the supreme governing body of the University, and of the Syndicate, which shall be the executive of the University. It is also proposed that apart from these there should be an Academic Council of the University, which should have well-defined functions—partly advisory and partly executive, in regard to matters relating to

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education, such as has been recommended in the case of the University of London by the Royal Commission on University Education in London. The scheme must, of course, be submitted to Government for their approval before it can be finally settled.

The Royal Charter.

Every individual and body of individuals are free to establish and maintain an institution of University rank, if he or they can find the funds necessary for the purpose. But it is only when an institution receives the seal of Royal approval and authority to confer degrees, that it attains the full status and dignity of a University, and enters upon a career of unlimited usefulness.

Two conditions are necessary for obtaining a Royal Charter. The first is that sufficient funds should be actually collected to permit of the establishment and maintenance of an institution of University rank. The second is that the governing body of the University should be of sufficient weight to command public respect and to inspire confidence in the minds of the Government. It rests entirely with the Hindu Princes and public to establish these two necessary preliminary conditions. If they do so, the grant of a Royal Charter may be looked for with confidence as certain.

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“It is one of our most sacred duties,” said the Government in the Despatch of 1854, “to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the diffusion of general knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England.” In the pursuit of this noble policy, the Government have established and maintain with public funds, the large number of State schools, colleges and the five Universities which exist at present in this country, and which have been the source of so much enlightenment to the people. The State expenditure on education has been happily increasing, and it may confidently be hoped that it will increase to a larger extent in the near future. But in view of the immensity of the task which lies before the Government of spreading all kinds of education among the people, and the practical impossibility, under existing circumstances, of achieving that end by direct appropriations from the public revenue *alone*, it is absolutely necessary that private liberality should be encouraged to the utmost to supplement any funds, however large, which the State may be able to set apart for the furtherance of education. This necessity has been recognised from the time that efforts to educate the people were commenced by the British Government. Indeed, the introduction

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of the grant-in-aid system, as observed by the Education Commission, "was necessitated by a conviction of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India. And it was expected that the plan of thus drawing support from local sources in addition to contributions from the State, would result in a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by the Government." In the Resolution of the Government of India of 1904, on Indian Educational Policy, it is stated: "From the earliest days of British rule in India, private enterprise has played a great part in the promotion of both English and vernacular education, and *every agency that could be induced to help in the work of imparting sound instruction has always been welcomed by the State.*" (The italics are ours.) Instances abound all over the country to show that the Government has encouraged and welcomed private effort in aid of education.

So far as this particular movement for a Hindu University is concerned, it must be gratefully acknowledged that it has received much kind sympathy and encouragement from high officials of Government from the beginning. As one instance of it, reference may be made to the letter of the Hon'ble Sir James LaTouche, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the

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U. P., and now a member of the India Council, quoted at the commencement of this note, wherein he said:—"If the cultured classes throughout India are willing to establish a Hindu University with its colleges clustered round it they have my best wishes for its success." Several high officials of Government who have been approached in connection with the University during the last few months, have shown similar sympathy, and offered the most helpful advice and encouragement. The attitude of Europeans generally, both official and non-official, towards this movement, was very well expressed by the *Pioneer* in the article from which we have quoted before. After referring to the claim of educated Indians for a larger share of self-government, the *Pioneer* said:—

"Education is certainly not the least of the great subjects with which the Governments have to deal; and if the Hindu members of the National Congress establish a noble University with branch colleges in many parts of India, and govern it so wisely that it becomes a model for other seats of learning, they will do more than can be accomplished by many speeches to prove that they possess a considerable share of the creative and administrative qualities to which claims have been made. They may be quite sure of the kindly interest and sympathy of the British Raj in all their efforts. Englishmen do not cling to office through greed of it, but from a sense of duty to the millions who are placed under their care. They desire nothing so much as to see the cultured native population taking an active part in elevating the

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mass of the people and fitting themselves for a full share in all the cares of the State. If it were otherwise, no anxiety would be displayed to popularise education by bringing it within the reach of every class, and no time would be spent by Englishmen in fostering the interest of native colleges where thousands of men are trained to be rivals in free competition for attractive public appointments. There is work enough in India for the good men that Great Britain can spare, and for as much capacity as can be developed within the country itself. The people need much guiding to higher ideals of comfort, and in the development of the resources which are latent in the soil and the mineral treasures which lie below its surface. In these tasks men who possess the wisdom of the East and the science of the West, must, join hands in a spirit of sincere fellowship."

Noble words these. It is in this spirit that the work of the proposed Hindu University is being carried on, and the promoters therefore feel fully assured that they will carry "the kindly sympathy and interest of the British Raj in all their efforts," and that the Royal sanction and authority to establish the University will be granted, though whether it will take the form of a Charter or a Statute rests entirely with the Government.

Funds for the University.

Nothing is more urgently and immediately necessary for realising the idea of such an institution than funds. A scheme of the magnitude indicated above will necessarily

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require a large amount to carry it out. When the scheme was first published in 1905, it was believed that a sum of one crore would be sufficient for the purpose. The Prospectus stated: "It is proposed to raise one hundred lakhs of rupees to meet the initial expenses and to create an endowment, the interest of which will be sufficient to maintain the institution." The discussions that have taken place since, have made it still more clear that a hundred lakhs is the minimum amount needed to build up a fairly good Residential and Teaching University such as has been outlined above. It is extremely desirable that of this sum at least half, *i.e.*, fifty lakhs, should be raised before the foundation of the University is laid, as there is a general desire in the community that it should be laid in December next, in the happy and auspicious days when His Majesty the King-Emperor will be in our midst. And in order that effective steps should be taken to realise this desire and to obtain a Charter for the University, it is essential that at least 25 lakhs should be collected as early as may be practicable.

Will this be done? There is hope that it will be. The present condition and the future prospects of the Hindu community have for sometime past been the subject of serious reflection by thoughtful Hindus. Thousands

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of them are grieved to think that the great bulk of the community who have inherited a noble religion and an advanced civilisation, are yet steeped in ignorance and therefore pressed down by many social and economical evils and disadvantages. They are grieved to find that Hindus fall victims to plague and malaria much more easily than the people of other communities, and that every decennial census discloses diminishing vitality, decreasing longevity and declining power of continuing the race. They acknowledge with gratitude all that the Government has been doing to promote the well-being of the people as a whole. They expect that it will do more in the future. But there is a feeling growing among them that they owe a special duty to their community, and to the State as well, to make an organised endeavour to supplement the efforts of Government to educate and elevate the people. In some matters, as, for instance, in providing for the training of the teachers of religion and for the instruction of Hindu youth in the principles of Hindu religion, it is they—the Hindus—and they alone who can serve their community. But they can also do a great deal more than they have hitherto done—though this by itself is not inconsiderable—to help forward the spread of general scientific and technical education among their own community in particular and among their countrymen in general.

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A conviction is growing and spreading that the educational needs of India will not be fully met unless both the State and the public will largely increase their contributions to the cause of education. It has been stated before that there are 134 Universities in America. It remains to be pointed out that many of these owe their existence to the generosity of private individuals. Sir Norman Lockyer has stated that in a period of thirty years, *i.e.*, between the years 1871-1901, the contributions made by private effort for higher education in the United States amounted to £40,000,000 or 60 crores of rupees, giving an average of two crores per year. In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the number of Universities has risen from 9 to 21 in the last sixty years. Many of these have been founded by private liberality. The total amount of endowments made in England from private sources between 1871-1901 was estimated to be about £5,000,000. The history of education in other countries also shows how much private effort can do to promote higher education. Besides contributing enormous sums towards the establishment and maintenance of educational institutions for the benefit of their own people, the Christian communities of Europe and America have been spending vast sums in promoting education, and the teaching of their own religion, in India and other countries of Asia. Sir F. D. Lugard and a

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number of other large-minded Englishmen are contributing much of their money, time and energy to build up a great University in China for the education of the Chinese; and large sums have been subscribed in England for the establishment of a University for the domiciled Europeans in India. Our Mahomedan fellow-subjects also have waked up, and have, it is said, raised nearly 25 lakhs to lay the foundation of a Muslim University at Aligarh. Shall Hindus alone remain asleep? Is not their sense of duty to their own community strong enough to rouse them to action? Will that sense not be stirred and strengthened by the examples of the various communities alluded to above?

Hindus should not really stand in need of any such extraneous stimulus. The acquisition of knowledge and the cultivation of the intellect—which is to judge between right and wrong—are inculcated among the ten commandments of the ancient lawgiver Manu, which are always to be followed by all classes and conditions of men. The hoary *shastras* proclaim that no form of charity is more meritorious than the gift of knowledge,—not a knowledge of the Vedas only, but all kinds of knowledge beneficial to mankind. It is as the result of these noble teachings that numerous *pathshalas* and *gurukulas* have been endowed and are maintained up to this day in different parts of the country, and stipends are given to students to

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enable them to pursue their studies. Nor have the contributions of Hindus towards the promotion of education on European lines been insignificant. Where the benefactions have been many, it will be invidious to name a few. But by way of illustration may be mentioned the Pachiappa College and High school at Madras, the Fergusson College at Poona, the Gokuldas Tejpal charities' institutions in Bombay, the Ranchodlal Chotalal Technical Institute at Ahmedabad, the Dayaram Jethumal College in Sindh, the Premchand Roychand Scholarship Endowment, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College and the Sardar Dayal Singh Majethia College at Lahore, the Khalsa College at Amritsar, the Nanak Chand Trust at Meerut, the Hindu College at Delhi, the Kayastha Pathshala at Allahabad, the Central Hindu College at Benares, the Behar National College at Bankipur, the Tejnarain Jubilee College at Bhagalpur, the Bhumihaar College at Muzaffarpore, the Metropolitan Institution, the Ripon College and the City College, the National College of the Bengal National Council of Education, and the National Medical College at Calcutta, the Brajmohan Institution at Barisal, the Krishnanath College maintained by the Maharaja of Casimbazar, the Balwant Rajput High School at Agra, and the Hewett Kshattriya High School at Benares. The endowments for the last two only made within the last four years, amounted to nearly 25

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lakhs, and were made by two generous donors, the late Raja Balwant Singh, C.I.E., of Awa and Raja Udaya Pratap Singh, C. S. I., of Bhinga.

But it is said that Hindus are disunited and disorganised, that they may establish schools and manage colleges, but there is not sufficient solidarity, capacity and public spirit among them to enable them to combine to build up a University of their own; to raise even the sum of 25 lakhs, which, it is believed in many quarters, will suffice to lay the foundation of such a University.

Let Hindus make their answer. They are the descendants of a people who established and maintained the largest Universities on the soil of this ancient land, ages before the idea of a University dawned upon the minds of men in Europe, and so far as history records, in any other part of the world. Ten thousand students were taught and lodged and supplied with food and clothing without any charge at these Universities. The head of the institution—the Governor or the Dean—was called a *Kulapatih* :

मुनीनां दश साहस्रं योऽन्नपानादिपेयणात् ।

अध्यापयति विप्रर्षिरसौ कुलपतिः स्मृतः ॥

“That Brahman sage is called a *Kulapatih* who teaches ten thousand students, supplying

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them with lodging and food, etc.” Such a one was the venerable Vashishtha, the preceptor of Dalip, the grandfather of the mighty Ramachandra. Such a one was Shaunaka. It would seem that a University of the kind described above existed throughout the halcyon days of Hindu power. Even in modern history we have evidence of one at Taxila in the Rawalpindi district. There was another at Nalanda, about seven miles north of Rajgir. It can easily be traced by square patches of cultivation amongst a mass of brick ruins, sixteen hundred feet by four hundred feet. Nalanda was a Buddhist University. But it was of the ancient national Hindu type and standard. “Ten thousand monks and novices were lodged within its walls. Towers, domes, and pavilions stood amidst a paradise of trees, gardens and fountains. There were six large ranges of buildings, four stories high. There were a hundred lecture rooms. All the inmates were lodged, boarded, taught and supplied with vestments without charge. All religious books were studied. All the sciences, specially medicine and arithmetic, were learnt by the monks.”

This was in the seventh century after Christ. Thirteen hundred years have rolled by since. After ten centuries of chequered history, the destinies of India have been entrusted to the care and guidance of a great Power,

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which has established the most essential conditions of progress—*viz.*, internal peace and good government—throughout the length and breadth of this vast country. It has done a great deal more. It has laboured in various ways to promote the moral and material progress of the people. It has introduced a system of public instruction—extensive and expensive—to which India largely owes all the new life which is pulsating through the veins of its educated sons and daughters. The British Government has not only given liberty to the people to establish their own educational institutions, but also generally encourages and helps them to do so. Many of the facilities for education which exist to-day, were not dreamt of in the 7th century. Placed under conditions so favourable, and with the examples of other communities and countries to guide and stimulate them, will not the 240 millions of Hindus unite to raise sufficient funds to establish and maintain one such University in the 20th century as their forefathers maintained in the 7th?—a University which should preserve the noblest traditions of the past, and breaking away from them, where necessary, adapt itself to the requirements of the present—and of the future?—which should combine, in short, the best of the East with the best of the West? Hindu charity is neither dead nor dying. If only a portion of its stream is properly diverted, it would easily

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create and richly feed the proposed new fountain of light and life in the sacred city of Benares. Truly did the *Pioneer* observe "that there is wealth enough among the Hindus to found a dozen Universities if the passion for education is strong enough, and if the monied classes have confidence in the ability of the promoters to administer so large a trust." The passion for education has been growing stronger and stronger during the last five years. The special circumstances of the year,—the approaching visit of their Majesties, and the efforts of our Mahomedan and domiciled Christian fellow-subjects to establish a University each of their own, have given it an added keenness. The articles and correspondence which have appeared in the Hindu Press, both English and vernacular, during the last four months, leave no room to doubt that there is a strong and widespread desire among Hindus throughout the country, that a Hindu University should be established this year at Benares.

To realise this desire nothing is more necessary than that all the co-operation which any Hindu can give should be forthcoming. Provincial and District committees should be formed, where they have not already been formed, without any more delay to enlighten the country about the project and to collect the the money. A deputation of influential persons devoted to the scheme will shortly move about

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in the country. But such a deputation can not be expected to spend more than a day or two at each important place. The ground must be prepared by local workers. Let it be firmly impressed on the mind of every Hindu that in the organisation of the Hindu University lies the best hope for the social advancement and the national uplifting of the Hindu community. Let every soul among them feel that not only the progress and prosperity but also the character and honour of the Hindus are involved in the success of this great educational undertaking. And it may safely be predicted that every man and woman among them will contribute whatever of time, energy and resources he or she can, to build up the proposed Temple of Learning on the banks of mother Ganga in the holy Kashi of Vishveshwara.

Let no man falter : no great deed is done
By falterers who ask for certainty.
No good is certain, but the steadfast mind,
The undivided will to seek the good :
'Tis that compels the elements, and wrings
A human music from the indifferent air.
Let Vedavyasa give us a motto to guide
and cheer us :

उत्थातव्यं जागृतव्यं योक्तव्यं भूति कर्मसु ।
भविष्यतीत्येव मनः कृत्वा सततमव्यथैः ॥

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“Awake, arise, and engage yourselves unceasingly and dauntlessly in works leading to prosperity, with the firm faith that success shall crown your efforts.” And let the teachings of Sri Krishna sustain us in our endeavour for the good of the Hindus in particular and of Indians in general,—for the glory of God and of the motherland.



CHAPTER II.

The Draft Scheme of the Proposed Hindu University.

Name :

1. The Society shall be called the Hindu Vishvavidyalaya, Kashi,—*anglice* the Hindu University of Benares.

Objects :

2. The objects of the Society are—

(a) To establish a Residential Teaching University at Benares—

(i) To promote the study of the Hindu Shastras and of Sanskrit literature generally, as a means of preserving and popularising for the benefit of the Hindus in particular and of the world at large in general, the best thought and culture of the Hindus, and all that was good and great in the ancient civilisation of India;

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- (ii) to promote learning and research generally in arts and science in all branches ;
 - (iii) to advance and diffuse such scientific, technical and professional knowledge combined with the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous industries and in developing the material resources of the country ; and
 - (iv) To promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.
- (b) to prepare and to encourage the preparation of suitable treatises and text-books in the principal vernaculars of India, in arts, science and technical and professional subjects ;
 - (c) to print and publish such journals, periodicals, books or leaflets as the Society may think desirable for the promotion of its objects ;
 - (d) to establish and maintain, and affiliate, admit, recognise or otherwise utilise colleges, schools, pathshalas, chatus-pathis, hospitals, workshops, labora-

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tories, libraries, museums, art-galleries, botanical gardens, and other educational and research institutions conducive to the objects of the Society ;

- (e) to institute and maintain professorships, lectureships, scholarships, and fellowships for the encouragement of learning and research ;
- (f) to establish, maintain and construct suitable *brahmacharya ashrams*, hostels and other residences for students prosecuting their studies in institutions connected with the University ;
- (g) to establish and maintain quarters for professors and fellows residing on the premises of the University ;
- (h) to provide for the examination of students prosecuting their studies in institutions connected with or affiliated to the University, to grant degrees and to award certificates to successful students ; also to award prizes, stipends and scholarships, to enable them to prosecute further studies ;
- (i) to purchase, take on lease or in exchange, hire or otherwise acquire

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and hold property, movable or immovable, and any rights or privileges which may be deemed necessary or convenient for the purposes of the Society, and to account or otherwise deal with, all or any part of the property of the Society :

- (j) to construct, maintain and alter any house, building, or works necessary or convenient for the purposes of the Society ;
- (k) to accept any gift or property, whether subject to any special trust or not, for any one or more of the objects of the Society ;
- (l) to take such steps by personal or written appeals, public meeting or otherwise, as may, from time to time, be deemed expedient for the purpose of procuring contributions to the funds of the Society in the shape of donations, annual subscriptions or otherwise ;
- (m) to invest the money of the Society not immediately required in such securities and in such manner as may, from time to time, be determined ;

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- (n) to accept and administer any trusts which may be directly conducive to any of the objects of the Society, either gratuitously or otherwise ;
- (o) to provide a superannuation fund for the professors, lecturers, officers and servants of the Society, or otherwise assist them, their widows and minor children when otherwise unprovided ;
- (p) to help students who receive education in institutions under the control of the Society in finding suitable occupation or employment ;
- (q) to do all and such other acts as are incidental to the attainment of the above-mentioned objects or any of them.

3. Instruction will be imparted through the medium of English ; but, as the vernaculars are developed, it will be in the power of the Trustees to allow any one or more of them to be used as the medium of instruction in subjects and courses in which they may consider it practicable and useful to do so. English shall be taught as a second language.

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4. The names, addresses and occupations of the First Trustees of the Society are :—

H. H. the Maharaja of Darbhanga, K.C.I.E.
The Hon. the Maharaja of Cossimbazar.

The Hon. Mr. N. Subbarao, Madras.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C. I. E., Bangalore.

The Hon. Sir Vithaldas Damodar
Thakersey, Bombay.

The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas,
Karachi.

The Hon. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Rao
Bahadur, Amraoti.

Rai Bahadur Lala Lalchand, Lahore.

The Hon. Rai Bahadur Harichand, Mooltan.

Rai Ramsaran Das Bahadur, Lahore.

Raja Madho Lal, C. S. I., Benares.

Babu Motichand, Benares.

Babu Govind Das, Benares.

The Hon. Raja Rampal Singh, C. I. E.,
Rai Bareli.

The Hon. Babu Ganga Prasad Varma,
Lucknow.

Thakur Surajbakhsha Singh, Sitapur.

The Hon. B. Sukhbir Singh, Muzaffarnagar.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Adityaram
Bhattacharya, Allahabad.

Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, Allahabad.

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Allahabad.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,
Allahabad.

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5. The income and property of the Society, whencesoever derived, shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the Society as set forth in this Memorandum of Association, and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly by way of dividend, bonus, remuneration or otherwise howsoever by way of profit to any of the members of the Society; provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the payment in good faith of remuneration to any officer or servant of the Society, who may also be a member thereof, in return for any work done or services actually rendered to the Society.

6. As, and so far as, funds will permit, the University will comprise all or any one or more of the following Colleges:—

(1) A Sanskrit College—with a Theological department;

(2) A College of Literature, in which all or any one or more of the following subjects will be taught:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (i) Languages. | (vi) History. |
| (ii) Comparative Philology. | (vii) Political Economy. |
| (iii) Philosophy. | (viii) Political Science |
| (iv) Logic. | (ix) Sociology. |
| (v) Psychology. | (x) Pedagogics. |

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(3) A College of Science and Technology which should consist of the following four departments:—

(a) The Department of Science in which instruction will be imparted in all or any one or more of the following subjects:—

Physics, theoretical	Botany.
and practical.	Geology.
Mathematics.	Mineralogy.
Astronomy.	Biology.

(b) The Department of Engineering, in which instruction will be imparted in all or any one or more of the following subjects:—

(i) Civil Engineering. (iv) Electrical Engineering.

(ii) Municipal and Sanitary Engineering (v) Architecture.

(iii) Mechanical Engineering. (vi) Mining and Metallurgy.

(c) The Department of Chemistry, theoretical and applied.

(d) The department of Technology where instruction will be imparted in scientific subjects combined with such

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practical training as is indispensable for persons who intend to pursue an industrial career either as artisans, industrial apprentices, industrial teachers or captains of industry. Instruction will be imparted in Technical and Industrial Chemistry, Bleaching, Dyeing, Printing and Finishing of Textiles, Manufacture of Paper, Manufacture of Textiles, Ceramics, Woollen Yarn manufacture, Worsted Yarn manufacture, Designing, and Textile Engineering (mechanical and electric).

- (4) A College of Agriculture, in which instruction will be imparted in all or any one or more of the following subjects :—
- (i) Science and Practice of Agriculture.
 - (ii) Agricultural Chemistry.
 - (iii) Horticulture and forestry.
 - (iv) Economic science as applied to Agriculture.
 - (v) Agriculture and Rural economy.
 - (vi) Agriculture in foreign countries.
 - (vii) Law of landlord and tenant in relation to agriculture.
 - (viii) Veterinary medicine.
 - (ix) Dairy, Husbandry.
 - (x) Agricultural Botany including the life-history of plants and plant diseases.

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- (xi) Land Surveying.
 - (xii) Agricultural Engineering, imparting a general knowledge of Engineering as directly applied to agricultural work.
- (5) A College of Commerce and Administration, in which all or any one or more of the following subjects will be taught:—
- (i) Political.
 - (ii) The Organization of Commerce and Industry.
 - (iii) Modern History.
 - (iv) Commercial Law.
 - (v) Banking and Finance.
 - (vi) Co-operation, Co-operative Credit Societies and Banks.
 - (vii) Transportation.
 - (viii) Manufacturing Industries.
 - (ix) Agricultural Industries.
 - (x) Administration of Firms.
 - (xi) Administration of Estates.
 - (xii) Household administration (sanitation, chemistry of food, home ceremonies, the family, &c.).
- (6) An Ayurvedic College, or a College of Medicine, where instruction will be imparted in Anatomy, Physiology, Surgery and Therapeutics, and where a

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knowledge of what is best in foreign systems of medicine will be added to a knowledge of the Hindu system. Laboratories will be attached to the College for prosecuting investigations in important branches of medicine and pharmacy. A museum, a botanical garden, a hospital and a veterinary department will also be attached to the College.

(7) A College of Music and the fine Arts consisting of—

- (i) A School of Music.
- (ii) A School of Elocution, and
- (iii) A School of Art, Photography, and Painting, Sculpture, bronze and metal work, lacquer works.

7. The Theological department of the Sanskrit College shall be under the control of the Faculty of Theology which shall be elected, under rules to be framed by the Board of Trustees, by such Members of the Society as accept the principles of the Hindu religion as inculcated by the Shastras.

8. The Faculty of Theology shall prescribe the rules for the admission of students into the Theological department, the curricula of studies, the rules for the exami-

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nation of students, and the qualifications of candidates for degrees corresponding to the degrees of Bachelors and Doctors of Religion.

9. All colleges and departments of the University, other than the Theological department shall be governed by the Senate of the University which will be organized according to rules and bye-laws to be framed thereafter by the Board of Trustees.

10. All colleges, schools and institutions of the University, except the Theological department, shall be open to students of all creeds and classes.

11. Religious education shall be compulsory in the case of all Hindu students of the University; provided that such religious education shall relate to the principles held in common by the principal denominations of Hindus: provided also that attendance at religious lectures will not be compulsory in the case of non-Hindus, or of students whose parents or guardians may have a conscientious objection to their wards attending such lectures.

12. Funds specially subscribed for any particular branch of the work of the University shall be devoted to that branch only. Out of the general funds subscribed for the University, one-half shall be devoted to the promotion of

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Scientific, Technical and Industrial education, and the other half to other branches in such proportion as the Board of Trustees may decide to be proper.

13. The accounts of the University shall be audited every year by duly qualified accountants, and published.



CHAPTER III.

The Hindu University Society.

While the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was busy enlisting sympathy and support for his proposal to establish a Hindu University at Benares, Mrs. Annie Besant, the President of the Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College, put forward the idea of establishing a University at Benares under the name of "The University of India." In 1907, she prepared a memorial for the grant of a Royal Charter for the establishment of the University. A draft of the Charter, the grant of which was sought, and the outlines of the constitution of the proposed University were drawn up, and the Memorial, signed by several eminent and influential persons, was actually submitted by her to the Government. A number of other Hindu gentlemen interested in the study of Hindu religion, also, were considering proposals for the establishment of a high class educational institution at Benares under the auspices of the President of our Society, the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga.

It was, of course, evident that three such institutions working on separate lines could



H. H. THE LATE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF DURBHANGA

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not very well be promoted and established at the same centre at the same time. The distinguished persons at the head of these movements recognised this and decided to unite their forces and to work for a common Hindu University at Benares. In April 1911, Mrs. Annie Besant and the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya met at Allahabad to consider the lines on which they should combine their efforts for the accomplishment of their common object. Some of the preliminaries were then settled but their final settlement was arrived at after Mrs. Annie Besant, who had gone to Europe, returned to this country

In the meantime, influential deputations for collecting funds for the proposed University were organized. Among others, the members of the deputation who travelled from place to place about this time were the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Raja Rampal Singh, C.I.E., of Kurri Sidhauri, Pandit Din Dayal Sharma, and the Hon'ble Babu Ganga Prasad Varma. Between July and October, 1911, deputations of the Hindu University Society visited Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Bankipur, Gorakhpur, Cawnpore, Chapra, Muzaffarpore, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Lucknow, Calcutta, Faridpur, Malda, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Amritsar, and Muzaffarnagar. The deputations received a hearty welcome wherever they went. Enthusiastic public meetings were held at

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nearly all the places visited, and promises for donations of large amounts were made at every place. It is, of course, not possible to give a detailed account of the good work done by the members of the deputation during this period. The number of the members of the deputation was augmented by the co-operation of many other distinguished gentlemen who joined it from time to time. Among those who joined the deputation may be mentioned the names of Babu Iswar Saran, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu, the Hon'ble Rai Ramanuj Dayal Bahadur, the Hon'ble Rai Sadanand Pande Bahadur, the Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Sinha, the Hon'ble Babu Brijnandan Prasad, Rao Vaijnath Das, Babu Shiv Prasad Gupta, Babu Mangla Prasad, Babu Ram Chandra, Thakur Mahadeo Singh, Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Pandit Bishambhar Nath Bajpai, Pandit Rama Kant Malaviya, Babu Jwala Prasad Nigam, and Babu Triloki Nath Capoor. To them and to many others the Society is very much indebted for the active part taken by them in raising funds for the proposed University.

In October 1911, the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga, K.C.I.E., and the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy and the Hon'ble Sir (then Mr.) Harcourt Butler, Member for Education, at

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Simla, in connection with the proposal for the establishment of the proposed University of Benares. The result of the interview was a very sympathetic letter which the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler addressed to the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur on the 12th October, 1911, in reply to the Maharaja's letter of the 10th October, 1911. As that letter is the first most important communication from the Government of India indicative of its approval of the idea of the proposed University, it may be quoted here *in extenso* along with the Maharaja's letter to which it was a reply :—

WHEATFIELD,

Simla, 10th October 1911.

MY DEAR MR. BUTLER.

You are aware that there is a widespread feeling amongst the Hindu public to establish a Hindu University on such lines as may be approved by the Government of India. More than one project has been put forward in this connection, but I think it very necessary before any further action is taken in the direction of producing a scheme which will be generally acceptable to the Hindu public that we should try to obtain from you a clear indication of the lines on which the Government will be prepared to support the idea of a Hindu University. I am quite convinced that the Hindus will be only too happy to loyally carry out any directions that the Government may be pleased to give them, and will thankfully accept any suggestions that you may be pleased

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to make. I hope that you will very kindly place this letter for the favourable consideration of H. E. the Viceroy.

Yours very sincerely,
(Sd.) RAMESHWAR SINGH.

Simla, 12th October 1911.

MY DEAR MAHARAJA BAHADUR,

I have received your letter of the 10th instant in which you refer to the widespread movement amongst the Hindu public to establish a Hindu University on such lines as may be approved and sanctioned by the Government of India, to the different schemes put forward, and the desirability of my making a pronouncement as to the lines on which the Government will be prepared to support the idea of a Hindu University. You add that you are quite convinced that the Hindus will be only too happy to carry out loyally any directions that the Government may be pleased to give them and will thankfully accept any suggestions that I may be pleased to make.

You will understand that in the absence of definite and detailed schemes it is not possible for me at present to do more than indicate certain conditions on which the Government of India must insist as antecedent to the recognition by the Government of the movement for the establishment of a Hindu University.

They are :—

1. The Hindus should approach the Government in a body as the Mahomedans did.

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2. A strong, efficient and financially sound college with an adequate European staff should be the basis of the scheme.

3. The University should be a modern University differing from existing universities mainly in being a teaching and residential University and offering religious instruction.

4. The movement should be entirely educational.

5. There should be the same measure of Government supervision and opportunity to give advice as in the case of the proposed University at Aligarh.

I need scarcely add that it would be necessary hereafter to satisfy the Government of India and the Secretary of State as to the adequacy of the funds collected and the suitability in all particulars of the constitution of the University. The Government of India must of course reserve to itself full power in regard to all details of any scheme which they may hereafter place before the Secretary of State, whose discretion in regard to the movement and any proposals that may arise from it, they cannot in any way prejudice. I may add that the Government of India appreciate the spirit of the concluding passage of your letter and that you can count on the ungrudging co-operation of myself and the Department in furthering any scheme that may commend itself to the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) HARCOURT BUTLER.

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The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K. C. I. E., of Darbhanga, now decided to work in co-operation with the Hon'ble Pandit and has since given his whole-hearted support to the movement. His very first act was to make the very handsome donation of five lakhs to the University.

The first public meeting after the issue of this letter was held at Meerut. The deputation to that town was headed by the Maharaja Bahadur and was received very enthusiastically by the people there.

Rana Sir Sheoraj Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Khajurgaon, joined the deputation, and has marked his practical sympathy with the movement by subscribing the munificent sum of Rs. 1,25,000 to the funds of the University.

On the 22nd October, 1911, the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga, Mrs. Annie Besant and the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and a few other gentlemen met at Benares. The conclusions then arrived at are embodied in the following short memorandum, which was then drawn up :—

“ 1. That the name of the University shall be the Hindu University.

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“ 2. That the first governing body shall consist of representatives of the Hindu community and Mrs. Annie Besant and representative trustees of the Central Hindu College.

“ 3. That the theological faculty shall be entirely in the hands of the Hindus.

“ 4. That the petition for a Charter now before the Secretary of State for India shall be withdrawn.

(Sd.) Rameshwar Singh.

(Sd.) Annie Besant.

(Sd.) Madan Mohan Malaviya.

(Sd.) Sundar Lal.

(Sd.) Ganga Prasad Varma.

(Sd.) Bhagwan Das.

(Sd.) Iswar Saran.”

To give a definite shape to the proposals Mrs. Annie Besant and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and a number of other gentlemen from several parts of India met towards the end of October at Allahabad and drew up the outlines of the constitution of the proposed University to serve as a basis of discussion. This was followed by a larger representative meeting of Hindu gentlemen at the Darbhanga Castle at Allahabad on the 28th November 1911. The Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga presided. The outlines of the constitution which had been drafted in October 1911, were revised.

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It was decided that the promoters of the movement should register themselves as an incorporated Society under Act XXI of 1860, and a Memorandum of Association was drawn up and formally presented for registration which was effected on the 15th December, 1911.

It was decided at the same meeting that a deputation of the Hindu community headed by the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga, should wait upon the Hon'ble Member for Education at Delhi. The Hon'ble Sir (then Mr.) Harcourt Butler readily expressed his willingness to receive the deputation which consisted of the following gentlemen :—

1. The Hon. Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh, Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga.
2. Mrs. Annie Besant.
3. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
4. The Hon. Dr. Sundar Lal, C.I.E., Allahabad.
5. The Hon. Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nundy of Cossimbazar.
6. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., ex-Dewan of Mysore.
7. The Hon. Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, Madras.
8. The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas of Karachi.
9. The Hon. Rai Shadi Lal Bahadur, Lahore.
10. Lala Harkishen Lal, Lahore.
11. The Hon. Rai Bahadur Lala Hari Chand, Multan.
12. The Hon. Lala Sultan Singh, Delhi.
13. The Hon. Baba Guru Baksh Singh Bedi, Punjab.

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14. The Hon. Maharaja Sir Bhagwati Prasad Singh, K.C.I.E., of Balrampur, Oudh.
15. The Hon. Rana Sir Sheoraj Singh, K.C.I.E., of Khajurgaon.
16. The Hon. Raja Rampal Singh, C.I.E., Kurri Sidhauri, Oudh.
17. The Hon. Rai Ganga Prashad Varma Bahadur, Lucknow.
18. The Hon. Rai Sri Ram Bahadur, C.I.E., Lucknow.
19. The Hon. Lala Sukhbir Sinha, Muzaffarnagar.
20. The Hon. Babu Moti Chand, Benares.
21. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Siva Kumar Sastri, Benares.
22. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Lucknow.
23. Rai Bahadur Pandit Maharaj Narayan Sivapuri, Benares.
24. The Hon. Rai Ram Saran Dass Bahadur, Lahore.
25. The Mahant of Tarkeshwar.
26. Rai Badri Das Bahadur, Mukeem, Calcutta.
27. Babu Bhagwan Das, Benares.
28. Mahamahopadhyaya Bankey Lal Nawal Goswami, Delhi.
29. Rao Bahadur V. N. Pandit, Nagpur.
30. Maharaja Girija Nath Roy Bahadur of Dinajpur.
31. Pandit Din Dayal Sharma, Rohtak.
32. Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji, Kt., C.I.E., Lahore.

The deputation was received by the Hon'ble Member for Education in the Town Hall at Delhi on the 4th December 1911. The draft constitution of the University was presented for the consideration and advice of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler. Several

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points were informally discussed on that occasion. We are extremely indebted to Sir Harcourt Butler for the valuable advice which he then gave and for the very great sympathy and support which he has accorded to us throughout.

The first meeting of the Society was shortly afterwards held at Delhi, and it was decided to begin work under the auspices of the Hindu University Society at once. An office was opened at Allahabad on the 1st January 1912.

The names of the members of the first Committee of Management of the Hindu University Society are given below :—

1. The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga, *President*,
2. Sir Gooroodass Banerji, Kt., Calcutta, *Vice-President*,
3. Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the Board of Trustees, Central Hindu College, Benares, *Vice-President*,
4. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, C.S.I., C.I.E., Calcutta, *Vice-President*,
5. The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nundy Bahadur, Cossimbazar, Murshidabad,
6. Babu Brajendra Kishore Roy Chowdhry, Calcutta,
7. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, A. Chaudhuri, Calcutta,
8. Babu Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L., Calcutta,
9. Professor Radha Kumud Mukerji, M.A., Calcutta,
10. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., Calcutta,

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11. The Hon'ble Kuar Krityanand Sinha, Banailly, Purneah,
12. The Hon'ble Babu Braja Kishore Prasad, Vakil, Lahiria Sarai,
13. The Hon'ble Babu Krishna Sahai, Vakil, Bankipur,
14. Seth Radha Krishna Potdar, Calcutta,
15. Babu Langat Singh, Zamindar, Muzaffarpore,
16. Rai Purnendu Narain Sinha, Bahadur, M.A., B.L., Vakil, Bankipur,
17. The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao, Rajahmundry,
18. The Hon'ble Mr. L. A. Govind Raghava Iyer, Madras,
19. The Hon'ble Mr. T.V. Seshagiri Iyer, Vakil, Madras,
20. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., *Ex-Dewan* of Mysore, Bangalore,
21. The Hon'ble Sir Vithal Das Thackersay, Bombay,
22. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatwadekar, Bombay,
23. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokul Das Parekh, Bombay,
24. Mr. Dharamsey Morarjee Gokul Das, Bombay,
25. The Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, Karachi,
26. Mr. V. R. Pandit, Bar-at-law, Nagpur,
27. Rao Bahadur Vaman Rao Kolhatkar, Nagpur,
28. The Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Amraoti,
29. Rai Bahadur Lala Lalchand, Lahore,
30. Rai Ram Saran Das Bahadur, Lahore,
31. Mr. Harkishen Lal, Bar-at-law, Lahore,
32. The Hon'ble Rai Hari Chand Bahadur, Multan,
33. The Hon'ble Lala Sultan Singh, Delhi,
34. Sirdar Jogendra Singh, Home Member, Patiala State,
35. Pandit Din Dayal Sharma, Jhajjur, Rohtak,
36. Raja Munshi Madho Lal, C.S.I., Benares,
37. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Adityaram Bhatta-charya, M.A., Allahabad,

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38. The Hon'ble Raja Rampal Singh, C. I. E., of Kurri Sidhauri, Rae Bareilly,
39. The Hon'ble Rai Ganga Parsad Varma Bahadur, Lucknow,
40. The Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur, C. I. E., Lucknow.
41. Thakur Suraj Bux Singh, Taluqdar, Kasmanda, Sitapur,
42. The Hon'ble Babu Brijnandan Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Moradabad,
43. The Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Sinha, Muzaffarnagar,
44. Rai Prag Narayan Bhargava Bahadur, Lucknow,
45. Rai Ram Sarandas Bahadur, Manager, The Oudh Commercial Bank, Ltd., Fyzabad,
46. Babu Vikramajit Singh, B.A., LL.B., Cawnpore,;
47. Babu Moti Chand, Benares,
48. Rai Krishnaji, Benares,
49. Rao Gopal Das Sahpuri, Benares,
50. Babu Gauri Shanker Prasad, B.A., LL.B., Benares,
51. Pandit Baldev Ram Dave, Vakil, Allahabad,
52. Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, M. A., LL. D., Allahabad,
53. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D., Allahabad,
54. Babu Iswar Saran, B.A., LL.B., Allahabad,
55. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A., LL. B., Allahabad,
56. The Hon'ble Pandit Sundar Lal, Rai Bahadur, B.A., C. I. E., LL. D., Allahabad, *Honorary Secretary*,
57. Babu Bhagavan Das, M. A., Benares,
58. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M A., LL.B., Vakil, Lucknow,

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59. Pandit Krishnaram Mehta, B.A., LL.B., Vakil,
Benares,
60. Rai Iqbal Narain Gurtu, M.A., LL.B., Benares,
61. Babu Mangla Prasad, M.A., Benares.

The first work undertaken by the Society was to prepare a complete list of the names of all the donors who had promised donations. The number of donors had already gone up to over 5,000. At several places no regular list of donors had been prepared and it was not till the end of March that a more or less workable list could be obtained from the various District Committees. The work of collection then began and up to the 30th November 1911, 17,128 letters have been issued from the office of the Society at Allahabad. The great bulk of them, of course, relate to the collection of donations promised.

Four meetings of the Committee of Management of the Society were held in the year. Deputations of Hindu University visited the following places :

Kheri, Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Bankipur, Gorakhpur, Cawnpore, Chapra, Mozufferpur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Lucknow, Calcutta, Faridpur, Malda, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Amritsar, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bareilly, Saharanpur, Moradabad, Unao, Sitapur, Etawah, Bahraich, Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Ajmere, Udaipur, Naini Tal, Almora, Kashmir, Ambala, Simla, Rai Bareli, Indore and Kotah.

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The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed large meetings at Calcutta and many other places. His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singhji Bahadur, G. C. S. I., G.C.I.E., A.-D.-C., of Bikanir, presided at one of the Calcutta meetings. His Highness has given a handsome donation of a lakh of rupees and a perpetual grant of Rs. 12,000 per annum. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has similarly made a perpetual grant of Rs. 12,000 a year and his Dewan Rai Saheb Pandit Amar Nath, C. I. E., Rs. 1,200 per annum. Among other principal donors may be mentioned the following :—

	Rs.
1. H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior ...	5,00,000
2. H. H. the Maharaja Holkar of Indore ...	5,00,000
3. The Hon'ble Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga ...	5,00,000
4. H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar ...	2,00,000
5. H. H. the Maharana of Udaipur ...	1,50,000
6. The Hon'ble Rana Sir Sheoraj Singh, K.C.I.E., of Khajurgaon ...	1,25,000
7. H. H. the Maharao of Kotah ...	1,00,000
8. H. H. the Maharaja of Benares (besides lands) ...	1,00,000
9. Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar ...	1,00,000
10. The Maharani Saheba of Hutwa ...	1,00,000
11. The Mahant of Tarkeshwar ...	1,00,000
12. Raja Kalanand Singh and the Hon'ble Kumar Krityanand Singh, of Raj Banailly	1,00,000

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	Rs.
13. Thakur Suraj Baksh Singh, Taluqadar, Kasmanda, district Sitapur 1,00,000
14. Babus Moti Chand and Gokul Chand ...	1,00,000
15. Babu Brajendra Kishore Roy Chaudhuri, Calcutta ...	... 1,00,000
16. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, C.S.I., C.I.E., Calcutta ...	... 1,00,000
17. Seth Duli Chand ...	... 1,00,000
18. Seths Dharamsey and Narottam Morarjee Gokul Das, Bombay ...	... 1,00,000

On the 9th August 1912, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler addressed the following letter to the President of the Society, enclosing therewith copy of a letter written on the same subject to the Hon'ble Raja Sir Mahammed Ali Mahammad Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Mahmudabad :—

To

THE HON'BLE MAHARAJA SIR RAMESHWAR
SINGH BAHADUR, K.C.I.E., OF
DARBHANGA.

Dated 9th August, 1912.

DEAR MAHARAJA SAHIB,

The Secretary of State has decided that the proposed Universities of Aligarh and Benares should be called hereafter the University of Aligarh and of Benares, respectively, and that they should have no powers of affiliation outside the localities in which they may be established as I informed the Committee at Delhi, This

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decision follows the decision in regard to the University of Aligarh. The reasons for it are being published in regard to the Aligarh University and apply *mutatis mutandis* to the Benares University. The decision is final and must be accepted as such. The Secretary of State and the Government of India recognise that it may be a cause of disappointment to the community but they trust that it will be in their best interests in the long run. The Committee over which you preside has formulated no definite proposals and it is, therefore, unnecessary for me to offer any further remarks at present.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) HARCOURT BUTLER.

To

THE HON'BLE RAJA SIR MAHAMMED ALI
MAHAMMAD, KHAN BAHADUR OF
MAHMUDABAD, K.C.I.E.

Dated 9th August, 1912.

DEAR RAJA SAHIB,

I am in a position to communicate to you the decisions of His Majesty's Secretary of State in regard to the proposed University of Aligarh. You will remember that the movement was started without any reference to the Government. Not until May 1911 did a Committee consisting of Nawab Mustaq Husain, Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan, Dr. Ziauddin and yourself approach me informally. We had some discussion and I said that before going any further the Government of India must obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State in regard to the principle of establishing the University. On the 31st July 1911, I communicated to you the

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readiness of the Secretary of State to sanction the establishment of a University provided, first, that your Committee could show that you had adequate funds in hand for the purpose, and secondly, that the constitution of the proposed University was acceptable in all details to the Government of India and himself. I added at the end of my letter that the Secretary of State had 'reserved full discretion in regard to every detail of any scheme which may eventually be laid before him.' At that stage no details could be placed before the Secretary of State. The discussions which have taken place between us were conducted on this clear understanding, which I more than once repeated.

As regards what I may call the external relations of the University, His Majesty's Secretary of State has decided after mature consideration that the proposed University should not have powers of affiliation outside the locality in which it may be established. The hope of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was to convert Aligarh into a teaching and residential University, and this hope has been expressed since by leading Mahomedans and others connected with the College. In the preamble of the draft constitution prepared by the Committee it is stated that from the beginning the object of the Founder and the Muslim Community was to raise such College to the status of a University.

The practical objections on educational grounds to affiliation are many. I need only instance the following :—

(1) A University with branches all over India would lead to competition and probable conflict with the older territorial Universities.

(2) Such a University would inevitably keep down the standard of Aligarh degrees and would destroy the hope that the teaching University would become a genuine

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seat of learning at which examinations would be subordinate to teaching and the teachers would be free to develop the intelligence of their students and not merely exercise their memories.

(3) The value of the residential system depends upon the tone or spirit which pervades the College and which, handed on from one generation of students to another, constitutes its traditions, and the traditions of Aligarh are quite local and peculiar, depending largely on personal associations.

(4) The University at Aligarh would be unable to control colleges situated in different parts of India. Experience is already demonstrating the inconvenient size of the existing Universities.

Apart from these practical objections on the general principles of high educational policy it is desirable that the University of Aligarh should be founded in harmony with the best modern opinion. The decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State is final and must be accepted as such.

The Secretary of State and the Government of India recognise that it may be a cause of disappointment to the community but they trust that it will be in their best interests in the long run.

As regards what I may call the internal relations of the proposed University, a considerable modification of the proposed constitution will be necessary. The Secretary of State has decided that the Viceroy should not be Chancellor, that the University should elect its own Chancellor, and that the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council with one exception, namely, that the Professors should be appointed without the previous approval of the Governor-General in Council. The distribution of powers between the various bodies

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of the University must be subject to future discussion. I can only say at present that it is essential that all matters relating to the curriculum, discipline and examination should be in the hands of educational experts. This is the practice in the English universities, on which the constitution of the proposed University of Aligarh has been based. It has been suggested that some seats upon the Council should be reserved for the representatives of the Senate. I suggest that with a view to expedition of business and the avoidance of misunderstanding the Constitution Committee should consider the constitution *de novo* with reference to the main heads of discussion and not with reference to the drafts already prepared. It is desirable to obtain a clear and complete statement of the points on which the Conference agree after which the bill can be remodelled. His Majesty's Secretary of State still reserves his discretion as to the constitution and all details not specifically mentioned in this letter as defined, and particularly in regard to the distribution of powers among the component bodies of the University. I am authorised to announce that, should the specified sum of thirty lakhs be collected and invested and a constitution be framed satisfactory to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, the Government of India will be prepared in view of their deep interest in the movement to make a liberal annual grant to the University contingent, as in the case of grants to universities in England, on the satisfactory results of inspection and audit.

In conclusion I must tell you that the Secretary of State has decided that the proposed University should in future be styled the University of Aligarh.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) HARCOURT BUTLER.

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At a meeting of the Managing Committee of the Society held on the 2nd August 1912, a Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the said letter and to prepare the outlines of a constitution for the movement in view of the said letters. The proposals of the Committee were considered at a meeting of the Committee of management held on the 17th October, 1912, and it was decided to submit a representation in the following terms to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler :—

FROM

THE HON'BLE MAHARAJA SIR RAMESHWAR
SINGH BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.,

PRESIDENT, HINDU UNIVERSITY SOCIETY,

ALLAHABAD.

TO

THE HON'BLE SIR HARCOURT BUTLER,

K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,

MEMBER IN CHARGE OF EDUCATION,

VICEREGAL COUNCIL, SIMLA.

Dated, Allahabad, the 25th October 1912.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated the 9th August 1912, enclosing copy of a letter of the same date addressed to the Hon'ble Raja Sir Mahammed Ali Mahammad, Khan Bahadur. K.C.I.E., of Mahmudabad, communicating the decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State in regard to the proposed

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University of Aligarh. You state that it has been decided "that the proposed Universities of Aligarh and Benares should be called hereafter the University of Aligarh and of Benares respectively, and that they should have no powers of affiliation outside the localities in which they may be established."

As my Committee had formulated no definite proposals and had not formally presented them to you, it was of course not necessary to offer any further remarks in connection with the proposed University of Benares: but I note that with regard to the proposed University at Aligarh, your letter to the Hon'ble Raja Sir Mahammed Ali Mahammad, Khan Bahadur, further intimates that the Secretary of State has decided "that the Viceroy should not be Chancellor and that the University should elect its own Chancellor, and that the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council with one exception, namely, that the Professors should be appointed without the previous approval of the Governor-General in Council." It is also pointed out therein that "the distribution of powers between the various bodies of the University should be subject to future discussion" and "that His Majesty's Secretary of State still reserves his discretion as to the constitution and all details not specifically mentioned" in that letter "as defined," and particularly in regard to "the distribution of powers among the component bodies of the University." You observe "that it is essential that all matters relating to curriculum, discipline and examination should be in the hands of educational experts." It is suggested "that with a view to expedition of business and the avoidance of misunderstanding the Constitution Committee should consider the constitution *de novo* with reference to the main heads

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of discussion and not with reference to the drafts already prepared," the desire being "to obtain a clear and complete statement of the points on which the conference agree, after which the bill can be remodelled."

These letters were laid before the Executive Committee and carefully considered and discussed at a meeting held on 17th October 1912, and I have been authorised to submit in reply as follows :

(1) In the first place, the Committee are extremely grateful and beg to express their sense of deep indebtedness to the Government of India, and to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India for accepting the proposal for the establishment of a University for the Hindu community at Benares. They believe that this movement, which is but the natural outcome of the educational policy of the Government, and which has thus received the sanction and approval of the Secretary of State, will mark an important era in the progress of education in this country, and that encouraged, fostered and guided, as it no doubt will be, by the sympathetic support and help of the Government, and the generous co-operation of successive generations of the people of India, the proposed University will grow into an important centre for the dissemination of knowledge and enlightenment and conduce in no small measure to the happiness and well-being of the Indian subjects of His Imperial Majesty.

(2) Turning to the points decided by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, the first is the name by which the proposed University at Benares is to be known in future. While the members of the Executive Committee fully recognise that the change of name will in no way involve any change in the essential features and the scope of the proposed University at Benares,

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they cannot help feeling that the new name proposed for it will not appeal to the Hindu public at large throughout India to the same extent as the one by which it has till now been proposed to be called. Located at Benares, the sacred city of the Hindus, the association of the word *Hindu* with its name will not only satisfy a much-cherished sentiment, but will also indicate and point out that it will be for the benefit of the entire Hindu community of India, that it looks for support and help to every member of that community, and that it must be regarded by them all as their own special institution. The Executive Committee has consulted the donors on this point (as on other points too), and they find that public opinion is very strongly in favour of retaining the name originally proposed. The Committee hope that the Government will be pleased to allow them to do so.

(3) As to the second point, *viz.*, that the University should have no power of affiliation outside the locality in which it is established, the decision, as you have rightly anticipated, has caused deep disappointment. The Committee note that your letter points out that "the decision is final and must be accepted as such," and they feel extreme reluctance in soliciting a reconsideration of that point. They are constrained however to do so by the desire expressed by the great majority of our donors, who have evinced deep interest in the proposed University, and they do so in the hope and belief that their representation on the point will receive the sympathetic consideration of the Government.

To take each of the four practical objections to the grant of the power of affiliation outside the locality in which the University may be established in their order, the Committee would, as to the first of them,

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venture to point out that this objection is at any rate very much minimized by the fact—

- (a) that affiliation to outside colleges would only be granted under rules approved by the Government to institutions as well equipped as one of the University colleges in any branch of learning and science ;
- (b) that institutions applying for affiliation will be required to make religious instruction an integral part of their work ;
- (c) that they will be residential colleges, and fully equipped as such ;
- (d) and lastly that, as in the case of the existing Indian universities, affiliation will depend after all in each case on the final sanction of the Government.

The number of institutions likely to fulfil all these conditions will at any rate for a long time to come be inconsiderable. The proposed Universities at Benares and Aligarh, as also the recently proposed University for Dacca, must no doubt, necessarily draw a number of students from the territorial limits of the Allahabad and Calcutta Universities. They will do so in either case. With proper safeguards, there is little fear of a conflict of territorial jurisdiction or of undesirable competition. The Committee may further be permitted to point out that unless colleges at Dacca and Benares already affiliated to existing Universities, are all required to seek affiliation to the new Universities to be established at these places, a certain amount of overlapping of jurisdiction is inevitable even under the restricted powers proposed for the new Universities.

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(4) The second objection is that with the grant of power to affiliate outside colleges the standard would be inevitably kept down and that it would destroy the hope that they would become genuine seats of learning at which examinations would be subordinate to teaching and the teachers free to develop the intelligence of their students and not merely exercise their memories. The existing British Indian Universities which control teaching in affiliated colleges and hold examinations have not, so far as the Committee has been able to ascertain, led to the lowering of the standard of degrees, nor to the limiting of the scope of the teachers' work in developing the intelligence of their students. With the safeguards enumerated in the preceding paragraph, there is every reason to hope that the danger mentioned in the second of these objections will be avoided. The great distances in India make it extremely difficult for students from every part of India anxious to secure the benefit offered by the proposed University, to come over to Benares. It is only in the case of higher studies that such concentration is most beneficial. If post-graduate studies were concentrated at Benares, while the study for the degree were also permitted in well-equipped colleges, much of the objection would be obviated.

(5) The third objection pointed out would apply with almost equal force to the several affiliated residential colleges at the centre. Each college has its own traditions. The objection however deals mainly with the existing traditions of Aligarh and need not be discussed any further here.

(6) The last objection will no doubt have considerable force, were the number of affiliated colleges to be large. It has already been pointed out that the

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number of colleges satisfying the conditions of affiliation will be very inconsiderable for a long time to come. The Government will always have the power to limit affiliation at any point it likes. But if no colleges are affiliated outside Benares, the cherished hope of the promoters to shape a curriculum which will conduce to the development of Hindu culture will be realisable in Benares alone.

(7) In this connection the Committee deem it their duty to point out that it would be absolutely necessary for the proposed University to hold a Matriculation Examination at various centres in India. It would also like other British Indian Universities have power to recognise schools. Besides this, it would no doubt recognise the certificates granted by other Universities or the Department of Public Instruction in each province. But in the case of the Oriental Faculty and the Faculty of Theology it would have to depend upon the schools it may be able to recognise which promote preliminary instruction up to a certain standard to enable students to qualify for prosecuting higher studies at the University.

(8) The Committee regret that it has not been found possible to grant the University the privilege of having the highest representative of the Sovereign as their Chancellor. They feel no small disappointment at this decision. They hope that it will be found possible to reconsider the decision on this point. But in any event they would feel very gratified if the University be permitted to place at its head as its Protector the august name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and they hope that His Excellency the Viceroy will be pleased to become its first Patron. His Majesty the King-Emperor has graciously bestowed

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this favour on the Welsh University, and we trust that we are not presumptuous in asking for a similar grace for the Hindu University.

(9) As to the other points relating to the constitution of the proposed University at Benares, the Committee beg to submit them herewith in the form of a draft bill and memorandum, which set out the main features of the constitution. The preliminary details can, they think, be best settled by conference and discussion between the representatives of the Committee and the Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) Rameshwar Singh.

The total sum promised up to date comes up to over 67 lakhs. The amount already collected in the Bank of Bengal is Rs. 15,56,420-5-1. Besides this, a sum of Rs. 1,15,562-7-11 is yet in the hands of either the District Committees and prominent members engaged in the work of collection or deposited in banks other than the Bank of Bengal.

The Hindu University Society

(Continued)

In presenting this Report of the second year's working and progress of the Society, it will perhaps be of interest, without attempting to recapitulate the circumstances which led to the formation of the Society or to the history and progress of the movement which it represents, to begin by giving a few comparative figures indicative of the progress made during the year under review. At the end of the last year (*i.e.*, on 30th November 1912), the total amount of subscriptions promised for the proposed University was over 67 lakhs, of which a sum of Rs. 16,80,545 had actually been realised. The number of donors who had actually paid Rs. 500 or more, and had therefore been enrolled as members of the Society, was 280, and the total number of persons on the roll of donors over 10,000. At the end of the year under review the total amount promised (including the valuation of the annuities granted by three Indian States) has come up to Rs. 82,28,778, and the total amount realised (including the valuation of the said annuities and the transferred deposits and a Stock Note) is Rs. 41,70,397. The number of members now on the roll of the Society is 391, and the total number on the donors' roll

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has reached nearly 16,500. In the first year of the existence of the Society its efforts were mainly directed to obtaining promises of subscriptions from all parts of India, and for that purpose it sent out several deputations headed by gentlemen of note and influence to various cities and States to disseminate as largely as possible, both by speech and by means of pamphlets, booklets and leaflets, the main ideas concerning the proposed University at Benares. It also endeavoured to collect what it could of the donations promised. Both these departments of work continued to engross much of the attention of the Society this year, though its efforts have been largely concentrated on collecting the donations promised. To this has been superadded the initiation of preliminary measures necessary to prepare the ground for the early establishment of the proposed University. It is proposed in this report to deal with the work of the year under three heads, *viz.*—

1. the securing of additional promises of donations and support,
2. the collecting of the funds promised,
and
3. the preliminary measures for preparing the ground for the establishment of the University.

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Very soon after the first annual meeting of the Society, our President, the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K. C. I. E., of Darbhanga, and the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya decided to open the second year's campaign of work for collecting funds for the University by arranging a prolonged tour of visit to several important towns and districts in Upper India. Allahabad was chosen as the first place to be visited by an influential deputation headed by the Hon'ble the Maharaja, and the citizens of the town arranged in December 1912 to give it a fitting welcome. But the news of the dastardly outrage of 23rd December last at Delhi, which evoked strong and deep feelings of sympathy for his Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge throughout the Empire, cast a deep gloom over the country. All public functions and gatherings (except of course those held to give public vent to the feelings of abhorrence of this foul outrage and of sympathy for their Excellencies) were naturally suspended, and it was decided to hold over the visit of the deputation to some suitable date in the January of this year. The deputation accordingly visited Allahabad on the 21st January 1913. The largely-attended and enthusiastic public meeting held on the 22nd January 1913 in the spacious compound of the MacDonnell Hindu Boarding House, under the presidency of the premier nobleman of the district, Raja

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Ram Pratap Singh Bahadur of Manda, resulted in donations of over $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs being subscribed on the spot; the principal donors being the Hon'ble Dr. Sundarlal, LL.D., C.I.E. one lakh; Rai Ram Charan Das Bahadur, Rs. 75,000; Chaudhry Mahadeo Prasad, Rs. 25,000 (or property of that value); Lala Bisheshar Das and Lala Misri Lal, Rs. 25,000; the Raja Bahadur of Manda, Rs. 20,000; Lala Shambhu Nath and Lala Lachmi Narain, Rs. 20,000. The Raja Bahadur of Manda, the Hon'ble the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pandit Din Dayal Sharma made appropriate speeches on the occasion. On the 27th of the same month a local committee and ward sub-committees were constituted to follow up the work thus begun and to collect the subscriptions promised.

The deputation next visited Nabha and waited upon His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, who was pleased to extend his generous sympathy and support to the movement, and to promise a handsome donation of Rs. 1,00,000 to the University fund.

Bikaner was reached on 1st February 1913. His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner, is one of the earliest patrons of the movement, and the Society is much indebted to him for the generous support he has given to it. In addition to the handsome contribution of a lakh

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and an annual grant in perpetuity of Rs. 12,000 which had already been promised by His Highness, their Highnesses the two Maharani Sahebas were pleased to contribute between them Rs. 20,000 and the Maharaj-Kumar Rs. 5,000 and a list of subscriptions was opened to enable the State Officials and the public to contribute to the fund.

The deputation arrived at Jodhpur on the 3rd February 1913, and met with a cordial welcome from the Darbar. A crowded open-air meeting was held in the afternoon following under the presidency of His Highness Major-General Sir Pratap Singh Bahadur, Regent of the State. Colonel Wyndham, the Resident also graced the meeting with his presence. His Highness the Regent received the deputation in Council, and had the objects of the University and its proposed constitution explained before the Council. The Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga and the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya having replied to inquiries made by the members of the Council on several points, Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh was pleased to announce, on behalf of the Darbar, the donation of the munificent sum of Rs. 2,00,000 and an annual grant of Rs. 24,000 in perpetuity, to found a chair to be named, with His Excellency's permission, after Lord Hardinge. This was followed by a mass meeting on the 5th February 1913, organised

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by Pandit Shyam Behari Misra, Revenue Member of the Council of Regency, which was addressed by the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, Pandit Din Dayal Sharma and the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. A sum of over Rs. 20,000 was subscribed on the spot and a local committee under the presidentship of Pandit Shyam Behari Misra was formed for realising the promised donations and obtaining further promises.

The deputation visited the Udaipur State on the 15th February 1913, where they met with a very kindly reception. H. H. the Maharana Saheb had already shown his sympathy with the movement by the payment of the munificent donation of Rs. 1,50,000 as his contribution towards it. The Hon'ble the President of the deputation presented an address to His Highness thanking him for his generous sympathy and support, to which he graciously replied expressing his deep interest in the movement and his good wishes for its success.

Indore was reached next where a largely attended public meeting was held on the 18th February 1913. It was presided over by H. H. the Maharaja Holkar himself. The Maharaja of Darbhanga having offered the cordial thanks of the promoters of the Hindu University movement to His Highness for the warm interest he had taken in the scheme and for

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the munificent donation of five lakhs paid by him, His Highness replied expressing "his deepest sympathy with the scheme of a well-organised residential and teaching University, combining what is best in eastern learning with the teaching of western Science and knowledge while clinging to religion as its guide." The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then addressed the meeting at His Highness's request on the scope and advantages of the proposed University, and over half a lakh more was subscribed before the conclusion of the meeting, and an influential committee formed with Rai Bahadur Kunwar Parmanand the Chief Justice of the State, as its President, to collect further subscriptions.

From Indore, the deputation went on to Bombay where a largely-attended public meeting was held on the 23rd February at Madhav Bagh. It was presided over by Sri Bhal Chandra Krishna, Kt., who appealed to all present to cordially help the movement. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya having explained the aims and objects of the Hindu University scheme, His Highness the Agha Khan as representing the great sister Muslim community, and Sir Narayan Chandra-varkar, Kt., Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, as representing the Hindus, proposed and seconded the resolution according cordial support to the movement on behalf of Bombay.

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The Hon'ble the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga and the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then made an appeal for funds which was heartily supported by Messrs. Vimadalal and Gajawalla. Donations amounting to over two lakhs were promised (including Rs. 1,00,000 of the late Seth Dharamsey Morarjee Gokuldas and Seth Narottam Morarjee Goculdas), and a local committee was formed for collecting further subscriptions under the presidency of Seth Narottam Morarjee Goculdas.

The meeting at Bombay brought the winter tour of the deputation to a close. Owing to ill-health the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was unable to resume work for sometime, and he had, under medical advice, to proceed to the hills to recruit his health. He resumed work in September last, and visited Moradabad, Bareilly, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Dehra Dun, Musoorie, Meerut, Muttra, Brindaban, Agra, Cawnpore and Calcutta, and secured several additional promises of donations. As the main object of his tour at this time was to stimulate the collection of donations already promised, it is unnecessary to deal with it further here.

II.

To pass on to the second head, *viz.*, the collection of the donations promised, the

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measures for that purpose adopted during the year were—

1. the periodical issue of reminders by the head office at Allahabad to the principal donors;—about 38,000 letters of this class were issued during the course of the year;

2. the collection of donations promised by arrangements for that purpose with each local committee;

3. the sending out of agents to various districts to call personally upon the principal donors, to supplement the efforts of the District Committees and their secretaries;

4. the issue of personal letters to selected donors; and lastly,

5. the tour undertaken by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in September last, already referred to above.

As has been stated at the outset, the realisations under all heads now come up to Rs. 41,70,397. Among the larger donations received may be mentioned—

	Rs.
H. H. the Maharaja Holkar of Indore (the balance making up in full his promised donation of five lakhs)	2,00,000

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				Rs.
The Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga (making up three lakhs out of five lakhs promised)	1,00,000
The Jodhpur Darbar, the first instalment of its donation of two lakhs	...	...	...	1,00,000
Dr. Rash Behary Ghose	...	...	...	1,00,000
Dr. Sunderlal	...	...	...	1,00,000

Besides these, Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar and Babu Brajendra Kishore Roy Chowdhuri, Zamindar, Gauripur, district Mymensingh, in response to the suggestion that it was desirable to collect at least a sum of 50 lakhs before the close of the year, very promptly responded, by transferring fixed deposits of a lakh in each case to the Society, with the consent of the Bank in which the money was held in fixed deposit. Raja Kristo Das Law, the Hon'ble Raja Rishecase Law, C. I. E., Babu Chandi Charan Law and Babu Ambika Charan Law have also helped us by giving us a Stock Note for Rs. 75,000, which will be exchanged for a cash payment on the establishment of the University. The Society is deeply indebted to all these donors for their generous contributions.

Of the agents sent out to districts for collecting funds, B. Beni Madho Mehrotra

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deserves special mention. During the months of February and March 1913 he visited Jaunpur, Rae Bareli, Bahraich, Gonda, Cawnpore, Fyzabad, Bhagalpur, Gaya, Bankipore, Chapra, Mozaffarpore, Darbhanga, and Hatwa, and was able to realise donations already promised amounting to about Rs. 16,000, besides securing some new promises. What is more to his credit, he made over the honorarium he had earned for his services to the Society as his contribution to its funds.

The fact that the collections have not yet come up to fifty lakhs, is due to the special circumstances of the year. In the commencement of the year public attention was riveted to the sad event at Delhi already referred to above. About the middle of the year, heavy floods in Bengal and Behar and widespread drought and scarcity in Upper India, made it difficult for our supporters to respond to our calls for the payment of their donations. And to cap all this, the last quarter of the year has unhappily witnessed a financial crisis owing to failure of several Banks in Upper India and Bombay, such as has seldom been known before. This financial crisis is plainly responsible for the comparatively small collection of the last few months of the year. There is, however, no reason whatever for taking a despondent view of the failure. A better season is in prospect. We have been favoured

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by telegram from the Home Member of the Bikaner Durbar intimating that orders for the payment of the Durbar's donation of one lac have already been issued. The responses to our letters are becoming more and more encouraging, and there is every reason to hope that the sum of 50 lacs will be made up before long.

III.

We now pass on to the third head, *viz.*, the preliminary work done to prepare the ground for establishing the University. On the 28th April 1913, our President addressed a letter to the Hon'ble Member for Education on the position and prospects of the Society. As the letter summed up very succinctly the position as it then stood, it is quoted below *in extenso*, specially as it constitutes a very important link in the communications that have passed between us and the Government. It ran as follows:—

The Maharaja's letter. Dated 28th April 1913.

‘My dear Sir Harcourt,

I have much pleasure in addressing you on the subject of the Hindu University. I have now obtained details as to the financial position from Rai Bahadur Pandit Sundar Lal.

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‘ 2 I propose in the first place to explain our exact financial position and in the second place to suggest for your consideration and advice the steps that we might now take to bring into existence the Hindu University at an early date.

‘ 3 As to the financial position, as you are already aware, the subscriptions promised go well over 80 lakhs. We have not yet gone to the great bulk of the Native States throughout India. We have approached only a few of them and have received liberal response. I hope in the next winter to pay a visit to Mysore and Southern India. The amount, however, actually received from the subscription up to date is Rs. 21,37,539-8-11½. Out of this sum the amount in the hands of the Society directly is Rs. 21,08,180 2-5½. The balance of Rs. 29,359-6-6 is in the hands of the secretaries of local committees or private banks, or persons who have been carrying on the work of collections. The amount will of course be coming into the Allahabad office in the ordinary course. The amount collected has been mainly invested in G. P. notes. We own to-day G. P. notes of the face value of Rs. 21,59,900, carrying interest at 3½ per cent. and the uninvested amount is being invested in the same way. The capital fund in hand may thus be roughly said to be Rs. 20,80,769-4-6 invested in purchasing G. P. notes and Rs. 84,189-1-2 in the other forms; total, Rs. 21,64,958-5-8 including interest, Rs. 25,063-11-6, and miscellaneous receipts Rs. 2,355-1-3.

‘ 4. Besides this amount the following amounts which have been granted by the Ruling Chiefs have yet to be collected :—(1) H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior, five lakhs; (2) H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar, two lakhs; (3) H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, one lakh;

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(4) H. H. the Maharaja of Nabha, one lakh; (5) H. H. the Maharaja of Benares, one lakh; (6) the balance of the Maharaja of Jodhpur, one lakh; altogether 11 lakhs.

‘5. In addition to this there is a sum of three lakhs on account of the balance of my donation. These may be taken as almost paid as they will be realised as soon as the Government desires that the amount should be paid in. These amounts total 14 lakhs.

‘6. In addition to these amounts the Maharaja of Cossimbazar is transferring property in trust of the value of one lakh which would bring Rs. 3,500 a year and Babu Brajendra Kishore Roy Chaudury, who is also a donor of one lakh, is similarly transferring property which would bring us Rs. 3,500 a year more net. In other words, they will not pay the money in cash but propose to give property which will bring an equal amount of net income. I am expecting drafts of the necessary documents from these gentlemen.

‘7. Besides these I may mention the names of the following donors of Rs. 50,000 and over whose donations I expect there will be no difficulty whatsoever in collecting :—(1) Raja Kalanand Singh and the Hon’ble Kunwar Krityanand Singh of Raj Banailly, one lakh; (2) the Maharani of Hathwa, one lakh; (3) the Hon’ble Rana Sir Sheoraj Singh of Khajurgaon, Rae Bareilly, 1½ lakh; (4) Seth Narottam Morarji Gokul Das (ex-Sheriff of Bombay), one lakh; (5) Thakur Suraj Baksh Singh, Talukdar of Kasmanda in Sitapur (out of one lakh Rs. 35,000 having been paid), Rs. 65,000; (6) Raja Kristo Das Law, Rs. 75,000; (7) Rai Ram Charan Das Bahadur, Rs. 75,000; (8) The balance still payable out

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of Rai Bahadur Sundar Lal's donation of one lakh, Rs. 25,000; total Rs. 6,65,000.

'8. There are of course a very large number of donors of amounts below Rs. 50,000. Thus in Allahabad alone may be mentioned the names of (1) Lala Bisheshar Das, Rs. 25,000; (2) Chaudhry Mahadeo Prasad, Rs. 25,000; (3) the Raja Bahadur of Manda, Rs. 20,000; (4) Lala Shambu Nath Lachmi Narain, Rs. 20,000. In Lucknow Rai Prag Narain Bhargava Bahadur has paid Rs. 5,000 out of his donation of Rs. 30,000. His balance of Rs. 25,000 will be paid up in a few days. Raja Ram Pal Singh, who is a donor of Rs. 20,000, has paid Rs. 10,000. The balance of Rs. 10,000 will be paid later on. I need not take into account the vast number of donors of smaller amounts who have paid their donations in part and from most of whom there will be no difficulty in recovering the balance.

'9. Three Ruling Chiefs have granted in perpetuity the payment of the following sums:—H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur, Rs. 24,000 a year; H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, Rs. 12,000 a year; H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, Rs. 12,000 a year. Total Rs. 48,000 a year. These allowances when capitalised at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. come to about 14 lakhs in value. There are other persons besides who have promised annual or monthly donations in various amounts.

'10. Taking the amounts shown in paragraphs 2 to 8 of this letter the amount of the money in hand or which may be safely taken as already in hand may be set forth as below: (a) the net amount already in hand, including interest, Rs. 21,38,738; (b) the amount to be paid by Ruling Chiefs and the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga,

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Rs. 14,00,000; (c) the amount which will be paid in property as per paragraph 5, Rs. 2,00,000; (d) the amount of donations above Rs. 50,000, as per paragraph 6, Rs. 6,65,000; (e) capitalised value of the annual grants by the Ruling Chiefs as per paragraph 9, Rs. 14,00,000; total Rs. 58,03,738.

‘11. The great bulk of the balance I have not taken into account for the purposes of this note, although it includes items like Rs. 10,000 each granted by the two Maharanis of Bikaner, and Rs. 5,000 of the Maharaj Kumar, Rs. 5,000 by the Raj Kumar Hari Singh Sahib of Jammu and Kashmir; Rs. 1,200 per annum by Rai Sahib Dewan Amarnath, C.I.E., of Kashmir; Rs. 25,000 by Dewan Daya Kishen Kaul of Alwar; Rs. 10,000 by Pandit Sukhdeo Prasad, C.I.E., retired minister, Marwar State; Rs. 50,000 of Rajkumar Harihar Prasad Singh of Amawan; Rs. 20,000 of Babu Kamta Shiromani Prasad Singh, taluqdar of Sehipur, Fyzabad; Rs. 15,000 of Thakurain Sriram Koer, taluqdar of Khapradih and Rs. 5,000 of Srimati Janki Bai of Bithoor, all in landed property; Rs. 15,000 of Thakur Ganga Bux Singh of Tikari, Rae Bareli; the balance of Rs. 15,000 of Raja Chandra Sekhar of Sissendi, and Rs. 10,000 of Raja Lalta Prasad of Pilibhit; Rs. 15,000 each of Raja Udai Pratab Singh of Kashipur and the Hon’ble Raja Kushal Pal Singh of Kotla.

‘12. We have not taken into consideration the value of the Central Hindu College, which, if I remember aright, the Hon’ble Mr. Sharp put down at about 14 lakhs. The amount which the Hon’ble Mr. Sharp thought will be required was between Rs. 40,00,000 and Rs. 50,00,000.

I think taking into consideration the amount mentioned in paragraph 9 which may be taken to be as

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realised for all practical purposes, we have raised more than the amount required, and I think we are now in a position to ask the Government to be so good as to take into consideration the legislation necessary for bringing the University into existence. We have thus financially made out a good case, and if the work proceeds as it has been going on till now, we shall be able to collect a much larger amount.

‘13. You were pleased to communicate to the Hon’ble the Raja of Mahmudabad intimation of the fact that the Government had granted one lakh a year recurring to the Muslim University. This was in addition to the large amount that the Government was already paying to the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, and which of course would be continued on its incorporation with the Muslim University. The cost of the necessary buildings and apparatus for the fitting up of a first-class University is very heavy. The figures recently prepared for the Dacca University scheme give an idea of the amount required. It is now evident that by reason of the curtailment of the scope of the University, we cannot get any large amount from Bengal or the Punjab, nor from Madras or Bombay. The Central Provinces as well as the new province of Bihar and Orissa are each looking forward to the establishment of their own provincial Universities. Our situation has thus become much more difficult by reason of the curtailment of the scope of our Hindu University as well as by reason of the expected establishment of other Universities. I think that the Government of India, in view of the above circumstances, should be able to see its way to giving us a much larger recurring grant as also a substantial non-recurring grant for buildings, etc.

I do not know at what figure we can put our

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expectations, but three lakhs a year would perhaps be not thought too much to suggest, and a moiety of the cost of buildings, etc. You can best advise us how to approach the Government in this matter. The University is of course to be a residential one and the cost of the construction of the necessary hostels and their maintenance and up-keep have also to be taken into consideration.

‘14. Turning now to other questions I think that the new University should have, if possible, the following Faculties: *viz.*, (1) Oriental, (2) Theological, (3) Arts, (4) Science (pure and applied), (5) Law.

The Oriental Faculty, the main object of which will be to foster the study of Sanskrit and its literature, etc., will appeal very largely to the public. My idea is that the studies in that faculty should be directed by a European Sanskrit scholar of standing and experience assisted by some Indian professors who should also be scholars of English. In addition to them we shall require a large staff of Pandits of the old class. We should endeavour to collect famous Pandits in every department of Sanskrit learning who are to be found in various parts of India. Benares is the sacred place of the Hindus to which every pious member of that community aspires to go in the evening of his life. I expect that a good number of eminent Pandits would be attracted to it, if a suitable honorarium or salary is fixed for their support and maintenance, and we should soon collect at Kashi the best Pandits of India. Another object of the Oriental Faculty should be to collect and bring together all works now extant in Sanskrit, either in print or preserved in manuscripts. There are as yet treasured up many valuable works in the Native States and in the families of old Pandits to which the Hindu

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University can obtain access easily. In this work the Pandits will materially assist. The cultivation of the vernaculars would be another feature of the work of that faculty. I think we shall require about Rs. 6,000 a month to begin work on a suitable scale and the amount will of course have to be increased as the work develops. A large number of Hindu students from all parts of India still come to Benares for study. They maintain themselves with the help of the many charities and *chhatras* now existing in Benares. If the Hindu University opens its doors to them we shall then have a class of students who undertake to study Sanskrit not with the object of employment under the Government but for the sake of the study itself. The nobility and gentry of India will continue to help the scholars in the manner in which they have been helped in the past and are now being helped.

The Sanskrit College at Benares should be affiliated to the Hindu University and should supplement the work of the University in its own special department.

The Faculty of Arts and Sciences would for the present work on the lines of the faculties on these subjects in the existing Universities. The cost of these departments will depend upon the number of chairs which can establish and the subjects of study that we propose to take up.

There is great demand for technical education in connection with the Hindu University. That however is a branch of instruction which can swallow up any amount of money. The Maharaja of Jodhpur has given Rs. 24,000 a year for a Professorship in some

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technical subject, and I think it may be possible to inaugurate the study of some special branch of technical education. This will come under the heading of Applied Science for the present, to be expanded into a Faculty of Technology later on.

The Faculty of Law will be practically self-supporting. We will have to specialise in Hindu law and its study from original sources.

‘16. The Hon'ble Rai Pandit Sundar Lal Bahadur in his letter to me says :

“In the scheme which I outlined in a note prepared by me last year, I indicated my views, though necessarily on a limited scale. The cost of running the University, apart from its tutorial side, was to be met from examination fees such as the existing Universities levy. I do not know whether the Government will be prepared to allow us to hold a matriculation examination in various centres and recognised schools as the existing Universities do. I should like very much to know how far the Government will be inclined to accede to the suggestions made by us in our letter to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, dated the 25th October 1912, which you submitted to Sir Harcourt Butler on behalf of the Society. If the Government in view of the financial position explained by me above considers that we have made out a sufficient case for asking for legislation in the ensuing cold weather, I will be very glad, as soon as the rains set in, to undertake to draft the constitution of the University and its statutes and regulations and to shipshape them during the High Court vacation for submission to the Government to form the basis of discussion. The fundamental points

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could be settled by personal discussion whenever necessary.

‘17. I shall be very glad to come and see you in Simla in the second week of May.’

Yours sincerely,
RAMESWAR SINGH.

The reply received from the Hon’ble Member for Education on June 2nd, 1913, was as follows:—

SIR HARCOURT BUTLER'S REPLY.

‘My dear Maharaja Bahadur,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 28th April 1913 in which you explain your exact financial position and suggest for my consideration and advice the steps that might now be taken to bring into existence the Hindu University at an early date. I regret that I am not yet in a position to indicate the lines on which the constitution of the University should be framed. The matter is still under consideration and a reference to the Secretary of State is necessary. Nor am I in a position to make any statement as to finance. I would however point out that the figure of 50 lakhs attributed to Mr. Sharp was only a rough estimate of the capitalised value of the recurring expenditure probably required to conduct an University of a thousand students and did not include capital expenditure. Also the Hindu College was valued at 28, not 14 lakhs.

But I note your desire to go ahead with the preparation of a scheme, and it will perhaps be of some

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assistance to you to know the conditions, the fulfilment of which the Government of India regard as precedent to the introduction of any scheme. These are—

- (1) That a suitable site be provided ;
- (2) That the Central Hindu College be transferred to the University ;
- (3) That a sum of 50 lakhs must be collected. In this amount may be included the capitalised value of the property mentioned in paragraph 4 of your letter and the perpetual grants mentioned in paragraph 9 of your letter, provided the documentary title is satisfactory in the case of the latter and the possession of the property has been made over in the case of the former.
- (4) That the constitution of the University be on lines to be indicated to you hereafter ;
- (5) That a committee, appointed for the purpose, report that the Central Hindu College is fit to be developed into a residential and teaching University.

Should the progress be as satisfactory as you consider that you have reason to hope, I shall be very glad to meet the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Pandit Sundar Lal during the High Court vacation. The Secretary of State, as you are aware, has reserved full discretion in regard to every detail of any scheme that may eventually be laid before him.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
HARCOURT BUTLER.

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In the reply quoted above the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, after noting our desire to go ahead with the preparation of a scheme, proceeded to specify five conditions, the fulfilment of which the Government of India regard as a condition precedent to the introduction of any scheme. The first of these was the provision of a suitable site. The Hon'ble B. Moti Chand, B. Bhagwan Das and a few other members of the Society residing at Benares very kindly undertook to examine the various sites which might be available for the proposed University or which had been suggested from time to time, and to arrange for their inspection by the Hon'ble the President and such other members of the Executive Committee as could go over to Benares for that purpose. A meeting of the Executive Committee was arranged for 20th Jnly 1913 to meet immediately after the inspection of the sites at Benares. The Chief Secretary of the Benares State, on being approached, very kindly undertook, on behalf of H. H. the Maharaja of Benares, to make all the arrangements necessary for the inspection of the sites. As arranged, the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga and several other members arrived at Benares in the afternoon of 19th July 1913, and proceeded at once to one of the proposed sites, *viz.*, the one at *Nagwa*, on the banks of the Ganges opposite the town and Fort of Ramnagar, and

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adjacent to the *Assighat* at Benares. The most suitable place here for the location of the University buildings is about half a mile to three-fourths of a mile from the river bank. As the land on this bank of the river consists of rich alluvial soil on a substratum of sand, it rises very gradually from the bed of the river and is liable to inundation on heavy floods in the river. It is therefore necessary to build a little away from the bank on land higher up. The site proposed comprises lands within the area of several villages. It has since been surveyed and examined more closely, and from many points of view has been considered the most suitable site. Four other sites were inspected on that and the following day; two of which were considered unsuitable and rejected, while the remaining two were to be further examined and considered along with the *Nagwa* site in making the final selection.

The Executive Committee met in the afternoon of 20th July 1913. As the members of the Executive Committee had inspected the sites and informally discussed the comparative merits of each but were not then in a position to consider the financial side of the question before making a final selection, a Sub-Committee was appointed to determine and select the site most suitable. The following extract from the proceedings of the Executive Committee shows what action was decided upon:—

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"The Hon'ble the President then stated that he, the Hon'ble Dr. Sundarlal, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Rai Ganga Prasad Varma Bahadur, the Hon'ble Babu Motichand, Babu Bhagwan Das, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra and a few others inspected on Saturday, the 19th, and on the morning of Sunday, the 20th, five proposed sites which had been selected for the location of the Hindu University. It was unnecessary to give a detailed account of the sites at that meeting as most of the members present there at the time had taken part in the inspection and the other members present had already heard about them. No final report of inspection was ready for submission on that day as certain particulars, specially those bearing on the financial aspect of it, had yet to be collected."

It was thereupon resolved unanimously that a Sub-Committee consisting of the President and the following members be appointed to determine and select the site considered as most suitable and to take all such action as may be necessary for the purpose:—

1. The Hon'ble Dr. Sundarlal.
2. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
3. The Hon'ble Rai Ganga Prasad Varma Bahadur.
4. The Hon'ble Babu Moti Chand.
5. Babu Bhagwan Das, M.A.
6. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M.A., LL.B.

The Committee has since met and submitted its report in favour of the first-mentioned site. The report will be laid before the next meeting of the Executive Committee for consideration.

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The second condition was "that the Central Hindu College be transferred to the University." It will be remembered that on the 22nd October 1911 a memorandum embodying the agreement at which they had arrived was signed at Benares by the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mrs. Annie Besant, as also by certain other persons who were present at the meeting. The conditions of that memorandum ran as follows:—

1. That the name of the University shall be the Hindu University.
2. That the first governing body shall consist of representatives of the Hindu Community and Mrs. Annie Besant and representative trustees of the Central Hindu College.
3. That the Theological Faculty shall be entirely in the hands of the Hindus.
4. That the petition for a Charter now before the Secretary of State for India shall be withdrawn.

The Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College at a meeting held at Benares on 4th May last passed a Resolution in the following terms:—

"With reference to the first item on the Agenda for which the meeting had been originally called by Mrs. Besant, *viz.*, 'to consider the present position of the Central Hindu College and to arrange for carrying it on until it is taken over by the Hindu University,' the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya, referring generally to the whole

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situation and specially to the financial difficulties of the College, proposed the following resolutions :—

(a) That in the opinion of the meeting it is desirable to arrange, as soon as possible, for the management of the Central Hindu College to be taken up by the Hindu University Society; (b) that a Sub-Committee be appointed consisting of the Hon'ble Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji with the Secretary of the Trustees, Mr. Bhagwan Das, as Convenor, to ascertain the views of the Trustees who are not present and to recommend to a special meeting of the Board to be called at the same time as the next Summer General Meeting of the Board of Trustees, what steps, legal and other, should be taken to give effect to the above opinion; and (c) that the Sub-Committee be authorised to incur expenses necessary for taking legal opinion.

The proposal was seconded by Babu Ganga Prasad Verma and was agreed to unanimously."

Babu Bhagwan Das, Secretary, Board of Trustees, Central Hindu College, stated that the Sub-Committee appointed to report on the formalities necessary for taking over the Central Hindu College has not yet been able to meet and make a report, but that letters have been received from the following Trustees who were not present at the above meeting approving the Resolution, dated the 4th May 1913, (besides the 15 Trustees who were present at the meeting) :—

Mrs. Annie Besant; Babu Upendra Nath Basu; Pandit Chhedalal; Babu Mokshadadas Mittra; Rai

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B. K. Lahiri ; Baba Guru Baksh Singh Bedi, C. I. E. ; Babu Kali Charan Mittra ; Sir P. C. Chatterji, Kt. ; Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Aditya Ram Bhattacharya ; Raja Rampal Singh, C. I. E. ; Rai Shyam Sundar Lal Bahadur, C. I. E. ; and Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath.

The following Resolution was then carried unanimously :—

Resolved that the Secretary, Board of Trustees, Central Hindu College, be informed that, pending the establishment of the Hindu University, the Hindu University Society is willing to take up the management of the Central Hindu College, Benares, as soon as the legal formalities of transfer are completed.

The details of the proposed amalgamation were in the meanwhile further considered by the Trustees of the Central Hindu College, and the question again came up before the meeting of the Executive Committee held on 30th October last. The following resolution settling the lines on which the proposed amalgamation was to proceed was passed at that meeting :—

(1) That all the funds, properties, movable and immovable, and all assets held by the said Association (*i. e.* the Central Hindu College), as its property, or in trust, and dues belonging to or owned by it, do vest in, and be transferred to, the Hindu University Society, except the funds expressly endowed for the maintenance of the Central Hindu College Girls' School, as to which the questions will be considered at the next meeting of the Committee.

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(2) That the Hindu University Society, keep up and maintain the present Central Hindu College with the Ranvir Pathshala and the Central Hindu Collegiate School to serve as the nucleus of the Hindu University proposed to be established.

(3) That for the said purpose the Hindu University Society appoint such Committee or Committees as it may think fit and proper, and define and regulate the powers and the constitution of the said Committee or Committees, and from time to time amend or modify the same.

(4) That the present trustees of the Central Hindu College be appointed members of the Hindu University Society under Rule 3 (d) of the Rules of this Society, it being always understood that such appointment does not necessitate or require their nomination or the nomination of any of them, to the membership of the Governing Body of the Hindu University when it is established.

(5) That the Hindu University Society make such provision as it may think proper from time to time for the maintenance of the said institutions out of the funds which shall vest in it by reason of the incorporation of the Central Hindu College with it, and to allot at its discretion any further funds it may think proper for the said purpose.

(6) That on the establishment of the Hindu University, the Hindu University Society shall set apart such portion of the funds so transferred to the Hindu University Society from the Central Hindu College as the Hindu University Society may consider proper for the maintenance of the School and shall arrange for its working and governance in such manner as it may consider fit and proper.

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The final proposal for amalgamation came up before the meeting of the Executive Committee at the second Annual General Meeting of the Hindu University Society on 7th December 1913. The following resolution was passed by the Executive Committee and adopted by the general meeting of the Society.

“11. Resolved that the amalgamation of the Central Hindu College with the Hindu University Society on the terms proposed by the Board of Trustees of the College as set out in Annexure A. be accepted.”

The Annexure A referred to runs as follows:—

ANNEXURE A.

Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Central Hindu College Board of Trustees, held at 3-30 p. m., on Sunday, the 7th December, 1913, at Darbhanga Castle, Allahabad.

PRESENT:

Rai Bahadur G. N. Chakravarti, M. A.

Mr. B. Keightley.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, M. A.

M. Chheda Lal.

The Hon'ble Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya.

The Hon'ble Pt. Sundar Lal, LL.D., C.I.E.

The Hon'ble B. Ganga Prasad Varma.

Babu Jnanendra Nath Basu.

Babu Bhagwan Das.

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1. Mr. G. N. Chakravarti was voted to the chair.

2. Letter No. 52380, dated 7th November, 1913, from the Assistant Secretary, Hindu University Society, and its enclosure, *viz.*, copy of Resolution of the Hindu University Committee of management, as regards the terms, in six clauses, of the amalgamation of the Central Hindu College Association with the Hindu University Society were read.—(*Vide Annexure B.*)

- (a) As to the first clause, from which it appeared that the Hindu University Society found itself unable to take charge of the Girls' School, it was agreed unanimously after a full discussion, that the funds and buildings belonging to the Girls' School should be handed over to an Association to be specially formed and registered for the purpose under Act XXI of 1860.
- (b) As to the fourth clause of the terms, the Trustees present agreed after discussion that the portion beginning "It being always understood" and ending "when it is established" was unnecessary and might be omitted.

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It was finally resolved that the terms of amalgamation be accepted with modifications as below :—

- (1) That all the funds, properties, movable and immovable, and all assets held by the said Association as its property, or in trust, and dues belonging to or owned by it, do vest in, and be transferred to, the Hindu University Society, except the funds and buildings expressly endowed for the maintenance of, and belonging to, the Central Hindu College Girls' School; that the Central Hindu College Girls' School shall be handed over to an association, to be formed and registered under Act XXI of 1860, with full powers to manage and deal with it in such manner as may appear to it to be most beneficial to the interests of the Girls' School; that the Association shall be called the Hindu Girls' School Society, Benares, and shall consist, subject to their acceptance of membership, of the following ladies and gentlemen :—

Pandit Chheda Lal, *President*, Miss Lillian Edger, *Vice-President*, Mr. G. N. Chakravarti, Mr. B. Keightley, Babu Upendranath Basu, Babu Jnanendra Nath Basu, Babu Govinda Das, Babu Sita Ram, Babu Durga Prasad, Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta, Babu Bhagwan Das,

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Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mrs. P. K. Dutt, Rao Baij Nath Das, Pt. Ram Narayan Misra, The Hon'ble M. Mahadeva Prasad, Dr. Sharat Chandra Chaudhri, Shri Ram Chandra Nayak Kalia, Rai Krishnaji, The Hon'ble Pt. M. M. Malaviya, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, Pt. Gokaran Nath Misra, Pt. Baldeva Ram Dave, The Hon'ble B. Ganga Prasad Varma, The Hon'ble Pt. Moti Lal Nehru, The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji.

- (2) That the Hindu University Society keep up and maintain the present Central Hindu College with the Ranavira Sanskrit Pathshala and the Central Hindu Collegiate School to serve as the nucleus of the Hindu University proposed to be established.
- (3) That for the said purpose the Hindu University Society appoint such committee or committees as it may think fit and proper, and define and regulate the powers and the constitution of the said committee or committees, and from time to time amend or modify the same.
- (4) That the present Trustees of the Central Hindu College be appointed members of the Hindu University Society under Rule 3 (d) of the Rules of the Hindu University Society.

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- (5) That the Hindu University Society make such provision as it may think proper from time to time for the maintenance of the said institutions out of the funds which shall vest in it by reason of the incorporation of the Central Hindu College with it, and to allot at its discretion any further funds it may think proper for the said purpose.
- (6) That, on the establishment of the Hindu University, the Hindu University Society shall set apart such portion of the funds so transferred to the Hindu University Society from the Central Hindu College as the Hindu University Society may consider proper for the maintenance of the School and shall arrange for its working and governance in such manner as it may consider fit and proper.

3. Resolved that the terms as modified above be placed before the Hindu University Society and that if they are accepted by them, then action be taken under Section 12 of Act XXI of 1860 to amalgamate the Central Hindu College with the Hindu University Society.

4. Mr. Bhagawan Das, Secretary of the

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Trustees, placed the terms as above before the general annual meeting of the Hindu University Society sitting at the same time and place and was informed by Dr. Sundar Lal, the Secretary of the Hindu University Society, that that body accepted the terms as modified by the Trustees.

5. Resolved that formal copies of Resolutions as regards the terms of amalgamation be exchanged between the offices of the Hindu University Society and the Central Hindu College at the earliest possible date and that action under Section 12 of Act XXI of 1860 be taken as early as possible.

The question of the amalgamation of the Central Hindu College and its transfer to the Society has thus been practically settled and only awaits the completion of the necessary legal formalities.

iii. The third condition prescribed was "that a sum of 50 lacs must be collected. In this amount may be included the capitalised value of the properties transferred in trust and the perpetual grants made by the Maharajas of Jodhpur, Kashmir, and Bikaner." The present financial position of the Society has already been described above. The great bulk of the minimum sum required has been collected and we are only awaiting the payment of their princely donations by some of our principal

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donors to enable us to fulfil this condition. There is every reason to hope that not before long the sum required will be in the Bank to the credit of the Society.

iv. The fourth condition laid down is—“that the constitution of the University be on the lines to be indicated to you hereafter.” The Society has already submitted proposals for the consideration and orders of the Government. As the Hon’ble Sir Harcourt Butler points out “the Secretary of State has reserved full discretion in regard to every detail of any scheme that may eventually be laid before him.” The orders of His Majesty’s Government on our proposals are being anxiously awaited by the public, and it is hoped that the lines on which the constitution of the University is to be sanctioned will be indicated at as early a date as may be practicable.

The last condition runs as follows :—

“That a Committee be appointed for the purpose of reporting that the Central Hindu College is fit to be developed into a residential and teaching University.”

As soon as the lines of the constitution of the proposed University are settled, the question of the appointment of the Committee can be taken up at once. In the meantime it

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will be the aim of the Society, as soon as the Central Hindu College is transferred to them to consider and take such steps as may be necessary to make it in every way worthy of being "developed into a residential and teaching University" of the best type possible with the resources that may be at their command.

The ultimate success of the great educational scheme, which it is confidently hoped will soon take a concrete form, based as it is and must be upon voluntary and spontaneous donations of the Hindu community in all parts of India, depends entirely upon the ready help, the generous support and the cordial co-operation of every member of the community.



Dr. Mrs. Annie Besant

CHAPTER IV.

Messages from Patriots and Princes.

A very influential and representative meeting of the citizens of Calcutta was held at the Town Hall, on the 6th September 1911. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, M.A., D.L., C.S.I., C.I.E., was voted to the chair.

Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh's Presidential Speech

It is a very happy augury that the country has been deeply stirred by the great question of National Education. Only on Saturday last, there was a large representative gathering in this hall when the question of compulsory primary education was debated. We meet here again to-day to discuss the question of higher education. This is a many-sided problem and is by no means easy of solution. One thing, however, is clear. Nobody at the present moment would seriously think of reviving purely Oriental studies to the exclusion of Western science and Western literature. That controversy was closed by Lord Macaulay's famous Minute in 1835, and he must be a bold man, I might perhaps use a stronger word, who should seek to revive it in our day. Our endeavour should now be to graft on the best

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Oriental ideals of life and thought the best ideals of the West, absorbing all of permanent value in Western evolution. And this, in a word, is the aim of the proposed Hindu University. It will not thus be the rival or enemy of any of the existing Universities, which though fettered in many ways, have done their work nobly.

But they are State institutions; and though education must in a large measure involve moral discipline, it can never be efficient unless it is conducted in a religious spirit. It must rest on truth, on morality and on reverence. Above all, it must have its roots deep down in *national sentiments, and national traditions*.

It is said by some of the critics of the present system of education that a spirit of irreverence has grown up among our young men and that a godless education has been followed by the dissolution of old beliefs, of old bonds and old associations without anything to fill their place and without any serious attempt to reform or recast them. Education, they say, on occidental lines has been an utter failure. The new wine of the West ought never to have been mixed with the mild October of the East. Now I should be sorry to suspect the good faith of these critics, but might I venture to point out to them that the

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law of evolution is slow but certain in its process and that you cannot ignore it without courting disaster ?

We who have profited by experience are not going to make any such mistake. In our curriculum, Hindu ethics and metaphysics will occupy a foremost place, the Western system being used only for purposes of contrast or illustration. Special attention will also be paid to a knowledge of the country, its literature, its history, and its philosophy. For a nation that does not take a just pride in its own annals must be wanting in self-respect. But man cannot live by the past alone and we have therefore taken for our model—the *modern*, as distinguished from the older Universities of the West. But our great aim is to mould the national character on Hindu traditions and Hindu ideals, to turn out loyal citizens capable of leading their countrymen to greater achievements in science, in arts, and above all, in social well-being. For this purpose, it will be necessary to instruct our students in the ethics of Hinduism at its best, in its purity, not in its decay or degradation,—to instruct them in that Hinduism under which some of the loftiest and purest spirits have found shelter—a religion which has furnished moral guidance to millions for centuries and has taught them lessons of humanity and reverence which are still our proud heritage. The constitution of the

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theological faculty may possibly give rise to some controversy, but in the Hinduism of which I speak there are many mansions, where we can all—Sikh, Jain, Arya-Samajist—abide in amity.

The Hindu University will, however, be open to students of every creed and every class, and attendance at religious lectures will not be compulsory in the case of students who are not of our faith, or even in the case of Hindus whose guardians have conscientious objections to such attendance.

I repeat, because some misconception on the question seems to be abroad, that the Hindu University will not be established with the object of recalling vanished institutions, *for the past never returns*, but with the object of promoting scientific, technical, and artistic education in combination with religious instruction and classical culture. We are equally convinced that the religious training which is to shape our moral and social ideals must rest on a sound and rational education.

Some gentlemen, for whose opinion I have the highest respect, fear that a denominational University is likely to widen the cleavage between the Hindu and the Mahomedan. But what does the example of Mr. Syed Hassan Imam show, or the example of our other

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Mahomedan friends, all men of light and leading, who have subscribed liberally to the funds of the proposed Hindu University? Are they not eloquent, living instances of the Unity of India?

It is true, *denominational education* has its drawbacks, but we must remember, we do not live in a PERFECT WORLD. Of one thing, however, I am certain;—The spirit of religious intolerance will stand rebuked in the presence of true culture. A man of real education must be a man of broad sympathies. A narrow mind and a narrow heart always go together, for are they not both notes of ignorance and of provincialism? The endowment of denominational Universities for higher training ought not therefore to be a hinderance and I am sure, it will not be a hinderance to the growth of friendly feelings between the Hindu and the Mahomedan; for in the memorable words of Mr. Ali Imam, *are we not all Indians first and Hindus or Mahomedans afterwards?*

I trust I have said enough to justify the foundation of the proposed University modelled on a *new type* and unhampered by the limitations of the existing Universities. We should also remember that India with a population of 300 millions has at present only 5 Universities. In the United Kingdom, with a population of 41 millions, there are 18 Universities. In

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France with a population of 39 millions there are 15 Universities, while Italy has got 21 Universities. Is there anybody in this hall who will stand up and say, that there is no room for more Universities in this country? Again, is there anybody in this hall who will stand up and say, that the present Universities *cover the whole ground of education?*

I now come to the last, but by no means the least important question, the question of ways and means. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is full of robust optimism, but the tidal wave of enthusiasm which followed my friend's tour in different parts of the country has fully justified the faith that is in him, and I have every reason to believe that his efforts will be crowned with the success which they undoubtedly deserve.

And this leads me to remark, that some of our great land-owners are keen on perpetuating their names by tying up their estates. To them I would say, "Endow a College or a University, and you will found a new family which will be in no danger of dying out, or will die out only with the death of *all culture and civilization.*"

Depend upon it, there is no easier method of gaining immortality than the *endowment of education*, and as Sir Henry Maine said in his

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Convocation address in this very hall,—the words are still ringing in my ears—the names of hundreds of men are heard daily from the lips of the educated youths of England which would have perished centuries ago, if they had not been linked to the Universities. But such an appeal ought to be superfluous to those whose religion teaches them to do good without hope or exception of reward either in this world or in the next. I, therefore, boldly invite you to contribute to our funds, not because it is the way to win immortality, but because it is your duty to do so. We must make up our minds for a long pull, a strong pull and a pull altogether ; and if we are only true to ourselves, I am confident that the Hindu University will soon take its place by the side of the sister institution which our Mahomedan friends are going to establish at Aligarh. Seated in the holy city of Benares, round which a thousand associations are clustered, it will attract students from all parts of the country and will serve to recall to our minds the academic groves and the vanished glories of TAXILA and NALANDA.

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Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea's Speech.

In moving the second resolution Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea said :—

Sir,—I have honour to move the following resolution (read). I am sure, it will meet with your unanimous and enthusiastic acceptance. The Chairman in his admirable speech, to which we have all listened with so much interest and attention, has adverted to a sister movement, inaugurated by our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen. I voice the sense of this great gathering when I say, that we all deeply sympathise with the movement: for every effort made by our Mahomedan countrymen to extend amongst them the inestimable boon of education will always command the unstinted support of the Hindu community.

We all feel that with the spread of education Mahomedans and Hindus will recognise the common destinies that link them together and the common goal for which we are all striving, it may be by devious paths. It is like the Jumna and the Ganges rolling onwards with their fertilising load of wealth to the point of confluence. There they meet and flow on, now a united stream, scattering plenty on all sides around, until they are merged in the vaster and deeper waters of the ocean. So these two communities, each working out its development in its own particular way

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according to the particular bent of its own genius, are marching forward to the point of confluence. There they meet, now a united nation and as a united nation pursue their beneficent careers, fulfil their great destinies till in the higher evolution of the race they are merged in the larger, deeper, vaster life of humanity. Our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen deeply sympathise with our movement. They propose to throw open the doors of their new temple of learning to Hindus and Mahomedans alike. Their men of light and leading have subscribed in aid of our funds. We reciprocate their sentiment. Ours is a fraternal movement, conceived somewhat upon the same lines, having kindred objects in view. But what I want to point out is, that our movement is not the product of the MOSLEM MOVEMENT, though perhaps it has somewhat stimulated our activities. Our movement is of prior date. While the Congress was in session in Benares in 1905, a Conference was held in which the question of a Hindu University was discussed amid the most encouraging demonstrations of enthusiasm. Nothing was done at the time, but the idea was then conceived, and it began to stir the hearts of our people until stimulated by the example of our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen, it has taken *its present form and shape*.

I have heard it said that ours is—a *sectarian and re-actionary movement*; that it

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will deepen Hindu prejudices and will retard the cause of progress. If that were so, I, for one, would have no part or share in it, and would not recommend it to my countrymen. It is an educational movement, an educational movement that truly and faithfully fulfils its purposes, transcends the narrow limitations of sect and creed. It broadens our vision, makes us look beyond ourselves and regards with generous sympathy all that is good and true and beautiful in the larger concerns of the nation and the race.

All education is liberalising. There is really no such thing as sectarian education. The cultured mind never fails to rise above its artificial environments and to assert its native dignity in the generous sympathy, which it feels for all, that is valuable in other systems of culture. But there is yet another line of argument which we have to face. Granted that your University will not be a sectarian University, what necessity is there for a separate Hindu University when we have the Calcutta University and other universities which are open to Hindus and Mahomedans alike? To this question I have a simple and, I may say, an effective answer to give. You could not resist this movement. It was bound to come. It is the natural and normal expansion of the movement which has given birth in Bengal to the National College and its affiliated

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institutions. It is a part of the great awakening to which Lord Minto bore such eloquent testimony. The movement recognises that in education lies our salvation, and further, that education to be effective must appeal to our inherited instincts and must be conducted upon national lines.

The educationist has not a *tabula rasa* upon which he might inscribe what he likes. He has to deal with deep-seated, it may be, undeveloped tendencies inherited from the past which he has to mature, to strengthen and sometimes to correct. What system is best able to bring about this result? It must be a system adapted to the temperament and the genius of the student, and it must be controlled by those who best understand his temperament and genius. We hear a great deal about moral education in these days. The Government Universities have failed to grapple with the question. The Hindu University will solve it. Speaking of moral education, let us ask ourselves the question, what books among the great repositories of ethical instruction are most effective for our purposes,—the Bible or the Bhagavat Gita, the Pilgrim's Progress or the legends in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata? The answer is obvious. The piety of Yudhisthira, the devotion of Sita, the self-sacrifice of Rama appeal with an overwhelming effect to the Hindu mind, more

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potent than any inspiration derived from the lives and character of the illustrious men of other countries. Now, apply this principle not only to the training of the character, but to the culture of the body and the mind, and the *need for a Hindu University is established*. Further, I ask, is it not desirable to have a non-Government University by the side of Government Universities? Lord Ripon deplored that the educational system of this country was cast in one common mould, and he encouraged private enterprise in the matter of education. Our Universities have indeed been reformed and re-organised, but we do them no injustice, if we say that they are capable of improvement. A people's University like the Hindu University is bound to exercise an enormous moral pressure for good on the Government Universities.

The Hindu University is not to be a *medieval institution*. It is to combine the ancient learning of India with the methods and the culture of the West. It will be a temple of science and of the technical arts as also a temple of Sanskrit learning. It is to associate all that is best and noblest and most inspiring in our ancient ideals with all that is valuable and useful in the literature, the arts and the science of the West. It will incarnate the spirit of progress with deep veneration for the past. It will teach us to look back upon the

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past with loving reverence. It will teach us to look upon the future with tender solicitude. It will combine the old with the new, the new with the old. It will adapt the new to the old and the old to the new, until within its sacred precincts we evolve a national life which will combine the lofty spirituality, *the high moral tone of the East with all the vigour, the determination and the masculine assertiveness of the West.*

These are the hopes and the anticipations that cluster round this great movement. God grant that they may be fulfilled in an abundant measure, that the Hindu University may soon be established, that supported by the loyal devotion of a patriotic people, it may prosper and flourish and it may, in the near future, bear rich fruits in deepening our loving reverence for all that is great in our past and in inspiring us with renewed enthusiasm for the progress of the Hindu race and of the Indian people along *modern lines*; so that the Aryavarta of the future, renovated by the genius of modern progress and ennobled by the spirit of ancient culture, may eclipse the glories of the Aryavarta of the past.

Then will the Hindu University have abundantly justified its existence. I have a word to say to my countrymen in Bengal. The deputation have met with great success else-

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where, I trust, they will not be disappointed in Calcutta. I trust the measure of your generosity will outstrip their most sanguine expectations. Calcutta is the Imperial City. It is the seat of wealth, of culture and of public spirit. In the matter of educational charity you have a splendid record—you have a name and fame to support. Look at your benefactions to the National College and the Technical Institute. Let not that splendid record be overshadowed by the semblance of any niggardliness in your support of this movement. To those who have money, I would appeal to unloose their purse-strings. For there is no form of charity more fruitful or more enduring in its results than charity in connection with education,—*It blesseth the giver, it blesseth the receiver.* It benefits the present, it benefits the future. To those who cannot make any pecuniary contributions, I would appeal to come forward as volunteers and offer their personal services to this Great Cause. Here is a splendid opportunity which we ought not to miss. Let us turn it into a harvest full of blessings for the country. This is my earnest appeal to you, and I trust, I do not appeal in vain.

Sir Gooroodas Banerjee's Speech.

The resolution which I have been called upon to second runs in these words—"That this meeting approves of the foundation of a

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Hindu University.” In commending the resolution for your acceptance, I think, I shall have to satisfy you on three points:—

1. Whether denominational universities are desirable ?

2. Whether multiplication of universities is desirable ?

3. Whether a Hindu University is desirable, and what is the true idea of such a university ?

The third point really involves the other two, but I shall consider them separately for convenience of discussion. I take the first point first.

Some opponents of the Hindu University movement who are friends of India, say that the establishment of denominational universities is opposed to principle generally, as education should ignore differences of caste and creed and proceed on a cosmopolitan basis, and that it is opposed to the interests of India particularly; as it will tend to accentuate and perpetuate differences in religion, and will stand in the way of *the union of the Indian people and their formation into one united nation*. These friends of India say, we are Indians first, then Hindus or Mahomedans. I

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admire this broad-mindedness: indeed, I would go much further and say, I am a man first, and then an Indian, and then a Hindu or a Mahomedan. For even though all India is united into one nation, if it is not united with the rest of the world in the common bond of humanity, but is in conflict with other nations outside India, there will not be that peace on earth and good-will towards man which are very necessary for the progress and happiness of the world. But I do not admit that this establishes the objection against denominational universities.

One obvious answer to the objection of these friendly critics is that the fact of our Muslim fellow-countrymen having come forward for a University of their own alters the situation, that it is no longer possible to have a common Indian University under Indian control in addition to the existing universities, and that if an additional university which is to be a teaching university imparting religious education is to be established for the benefit of the vast majority of the Indian population, *it must be a Hindu University*. But I will not ask you to base your action upon this narrow ground, sound though it be. Nor must I omit to mention here that the question of a Hindu University has not been mooted for the first time after the Muslim University movement was started.

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Long before that time, the idea of a Hindu University had been a cherished idea with our distinguished countryman, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. But let us examine the point now before us a little more deeply. True it is, as our critics say, that education should be based upon a cosmopolitan basis, and that we should remember that we are Indians first and then Hindus or Mahomedans, or rather, as I have put it, men first, then Indians, and then Hindus or Mahomedans. But that is not the whole truth, It is only in our advanced stage of progress, after the narrow self has gradually expanded itself and learnt, step by step, to extend its sympathies from the family to the sect, from the sect to the nation and from the nation to humanity; that true breadth of sentiment which influences life and conduct, and is not merely lip-deep, can be attained. But in the earlier stages of progress things must stand very differently. We are born with the narrow, selfish instinct of self-preservation. We are bred in infancy amidst concrete domestic surroundings with all their religious and social peculiarities and not amidst abstract humanity or an abstract Indian nationality. And we commence our school and college career not as men, nor as Indians, but as Hindus or Mahomedans, or rather as Hindus or Mahomedans of some particular sect. Every student, when entering school, carries with him besides his outfit of

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language, his stock of ideas and sentiments—the *gift of his family, his sect and his nation*; and the teacher should utilize and improve that stock instead of ignoring it. Teaching generally, and moral and religious teaching specially, in order to be successful and productive of speedy results, must take particular note of the mental and moral temperament of the student, just as sowing in order to be successful and productive of speedy harvest, must take particular note of the soil. The Government Universities and Government colleges and schools following the laudable policy of religious neutrality, are obliged to abstain from providing religious education; but in doing so, they leave the spiritual side of the student to lie fallow and lapse into jungle. The highest aim of education must no doubt be to free the mind from the fetters of sectarianism, but we must not attempt to reach by a sudden bound a height which is attainable only by gradual steps of laborious ascent.

If a non-denominational school under a non-denominational university has the advantage of keeping the students free from all religious bias, it has the disadvantage of leaving his SPIRITUAL NATURE altogether neglected and of sending him out into the world unprovided with spiritual strength to bear the ills of life which may fall to his lot. And that disadvantage far outweighs the advantage gained.

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The objection that denominational Universities will tend to accentuate and perpetuate religious differences is easily met. If there be, not one denominational university but two, a Hindu university and a Mahomedan university, each standing face to face with the other, and both working before the jealous eye of a strictly impartial Government, a salutary spirit of emulation will be sure to inspire each with an earnest desire to bring out its best not only in knowledge but also in character and religious toleration; so that, the spirit of conciliation between Hindus and Mahomedans will be better encouraged here than it would have been, if they had been students of a common non-denominational university; just as, mutual good feeling among brothers in a Hindu family is well-known to be better fostered after partition when they begin to live separate.

But it will be said, that though all this may be true yet when once denominational universities are allowed to be established, their number will soon become inconveniently large in a country like India which is the abode of the followers of so many different creeds. This brings me to the second point stated above.

My short answer to the objection that the establishment of one denominational university will lead to the undue multiplication of such

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universities, is this. Though the number of different religious communities in India is large, the number of persons belonging to most of these communities is small, the two really large religious communities being the Hindus and the Mahomedans. And these small communities, with the exception of two or three, will not be able to raise funds which Government will require as a guarantee for proper working before sanctioning the establishment of a new university. But even if the matter stood differently, what then ?

India is a large continent with a vast population and has at present only five universities. The addition of a few more will not be an inconvenient increase in their number. The point is fully discussed in the learned pamphlet of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to whom the Hindu community will ever remain deeply indebted for his earnest exertions for the foundation of a Hindu University. But it might be urged next, that though India may be large enough to have many universities, she is not rich enough for the luxury, that it will not be judicious to go after new universities when the old ones which are already well-organised are unable to do all that they could do for want of funds, and that the proper application of any funds that may be available will be to increase therewith the resources of the existing universities.

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The answer to this is two-fold. In the first place, the funds that are forthcoming are being contributed for the foundation of a university under Hindu control for imparting instruction in Hindu religion as an integral part of education and for training students to live according to the highest Hindu ideals of life. *Hindu sentiment is an important factor here*; and the funds which are promised for carrying out these definite purposes would not have been forthcoming for any other purpose. In the second place, these purposes, as I shall endeavour to show presently, are justly entitled to claim the appropriation of funds. The existing universities are organised on a certain basis and work within a scope. The proposed university is intended to be organised on a somewhat different basis, which is better adapted for its work and to work within a wider scope, as it will *impart religious and technical education in addition to education in arts and science*; or in other words, to have a classical as well as a modern side, and each developed more fully than it is in the existing universities. And it is certainly desirable that such a university should be working side by side with the universities now in existence.

I come now to the third and the last point, namely, whether a Hindu university is desirable and what is the true idea of such university. This is the really important point for consi-

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deration here to-day; and what I have said before does not dispose of this point, though it helps to clear the way. For it might be said that even if there be no general objection to the establishment of a denominational university and to an increase in the number of Indian universities, the foundation of a Hindu University would still be open to objection partly on the ground of its being an attempt to revive dying though time-honoured ideals of life and thought, and thereby obstructing the path of progress, and partly on the ground of its being likely to create aloofness between Indians and Europeans, and being therefore politically inexpedient. The former ground may be urged by a certain section of our countrymen and the latter by a certain school of Anglo-Indian politicians.

To obviate these objections, it becomes necessary to consider the second half of the third question, *viz.*, what is the true idea of a Hindu University? I shall try to place before you the idea of a Hindu University which the promoters of the present movement have in view; and when once that idea is rightly understood, our critics will find that all their objections are removed.

As a member, though an unworthy one, of the Hindu community, I have naturally ardent admiration for the true Hindu ideals

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of life and thought which to my mind constitute the real landmarks of Hinduism, and which have enabled Hinduism to resist those mighty religious, social and political revolutions that have swept over the country. These ideals form *the permanent and unchanging features of Hinduism*. Round them have grown certain other features, which are transitory and changing, and they must be allowed to change with time. Standing erect and keeping firmly attached to these permanent ideals without any oblique leaning one way or another, we must move on with the onward march of time.

I say this on the highest authority. For MANU himself hath said :—

“One set of duties (is prescribed) for the ‘Satya’ age; different sets for the ‘Treta’ and ‘Dvapara,’ and again a different set for the ‘Kali,’ according to the decrease in those ages.”

Thus, though Hinduism has certain eternal and unchanging features, there is no fear of its being opposed to progress. What then are these permanent features and unchanging ideals of Hindu life and thought ?

They are not mere matters of ritual and dogma, important as these may be for disciplinary purposes, but they rise above ritual and dogma, and concern the spirit in man,

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They are, on the theoretical side, a firm living faith that life is not a scramble for the transitory good things of the earth, but is a struggle for the attainment of spiritual good; and on the practical side, the leading of a life of cheerful self-abnegation and devotion to the performance of duty regardless of reward for the service of humanity. These being the ideals which a Hindu University will inculcate, there need be no apprehension in the mind of even the most *radical reformer* that such a university will be antagonistic to progress.

While aiding spiritual advancement, a Hindu University will give all due attention to technical and industrial education for serving humanity in attaining material progress. For none feels more keenly than the Hindu that exclusive devotion of attention to things spiritual to the utter neglect of the physical side of creation, has brought about the lamentably backward material condition in which we are.

It remains now to consider the objection against a Hindu University on the ground of its supposed political inexpediency. Beyond certain restrictions on inter-marriage and inter-dining Hinduism does not recommend or encourage any aloofness from the ruling race. On the contrary, *loyalty to the ruler is strictly enjoined by Hindu religion and is deeply*

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ingrained in Hindu nature. The Hindu is by instinct and habit law-abiding and peace-loving. And the ideals of Hindu life and thought which I have just referred to and which a Hindu University will inculcate, namely, cheerful self-abnegation, performance of duty regardless of reward, and submission to the inevitable with calm resignation, will be the best safeguards not only against discontent and unrest, but also against that fierce conflict between capital and labour which threatens every moment to disturb, if not destroy, the peace and happiness of Western society.

The foundation of a Hindu University is not, therefore, open to any objection on the ground of political inexpediency. The promoters of the present movement fully appreciate the reason for the Government's demanding adequate guarantee that the proposed University will work well and without detriment to any interest in the country; and they are ready so to frame the constitution of the University as to afford every reasonable guarantee to that effect.

From every point of view, then, it is desirable that a Hindu University should be founded; and I would beg of all persons interested to merge their minor differences and co-operate earnestly for the attainment of that desirable object.

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Speech of Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar.

Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy Bahadur of Cossimbazar then moved the following resolution—‘That a general and organisation committee be formed consisting of the following gentlemen (names followed) with power to add to their numbers for the purpose of promoting the foundation of the University.’ He said—

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—It is with very great pleasure that I rise to move the second resolution. The occasion on which we have assembled in this historic hall is a unique one, and it demands the whole-hearted sympathy and co-operation of us all to realise the object of this meeting. For, the foundation of a fully-equipped, residential and teaching University such as we contemplate, is one of the most stupendous tasks we have ever attempted; while at the same time, it is one of the most imperative. If the Hindus want to live as a people, they must try their best to preserve, revive and develop those high ideals of thought and life, culture and civilization which are their *priceless heritage from a remote antiquity*—the product of evolution through centuries.

This can be done only by having a central educational organisation, a modern University

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with up-to-date equipments which will devote itself to the development of Hindu thought and learning and make them assert once again their rightful place in the cultured history of the world. But, gentlemen, not only will this University foster Hindu culture and ideals of life and create for them a favourable environment and atmosphere which in days of yore made possible the triumphs of the Hindu genius in the domain of thought and action. But this University will also attach to itself a modern side which will, we trust, turn out hosts of organisers and experts, captains of Industry and commerce, to develop the unbounded but unutilised material resources of the country.

Gentlemen, a University with these lofty aims is fraught with great possibilities of good, both to Government and the country, and I trust, we shall all co-operate to the best of our powers to make it a success. I once again commend this resolution to your cordial approval and through you to the approval of the entire Hindu community of whom you are the representatives.

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The following address was delivered by His Highness Maharaja Sir Gangasinghji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., of Bikaner, as President of a public meeting held in support of the proposed Hindu University of Benares at the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 17th of January 1912.

MAHARAJAS, RAJAS, LADIES & GENTLEMEN,

I thank you cordially for the honour you have done me in inviting me to preside at this meeting, and I am very glad of the opportunity which the occasion of the visit of Their Imperial Majesties has afforded me to avail myself of that invitation: for it enables me not only to identify myself with the movement we are assembled here to-day to support, which has always had my warmest good wishes, but also to testify to the fact that although we, Ruling Chiefs, come from our own territories outside the limits of British India proper, we are entirely at one with our brethren in British India where loyalty to our beloved King-Emperor, co-operation with the Government of India in the path of order and good government as also the true advancement and well-being of our mother-country and His Majesty's Indian subjects are concerned.

I do not propose to-day to trace the history and growth of the idea of founding a great Hindu University. Started some years ago, its progress till recently has been gradual.

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It is only in the last few months that the movement has become completely coherent and has advanced by rapid stages. The different schemes have been amalgamated. Public meetings held all over India and the large donations promised have made it clear that the University is no longer the ideal of the few but has kindled the enthusiasm of the many. The general approval and sympathy of the Government have been secured and the University is on a fair way to being a settled fact.

For this we are indebted to the promoters of the scheme—some of whom we are glad to see are present here to-day—whose energy and perseverance have over-borne all difficulties. They wisely set themselves to secure the approval of Government and the co-operation of the Ruling Princes. We are gratefully conscious of what they have accomplished and of the manner in which they have accomplished it.

We are no less indebted to the Government and specially to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Hon. Sir H. Butler, the Member for education, for their help and sympathy towards what may fairly be called the united endeavour of a great community to achieve a great and common object.

That our object is a great one I think no one can dispute. It would be superfluous to

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speak of the benefits of education. It is a necessary condition of a nation's prosperity and lies at the root of all progress. The Government have done much in the last fifty years to promote education of all kinds—primary, secondary and higher—and the recent announcement made by the command of His Imperial Majesty has given us a renewed assurance of the future spread of mass education. But deeply grateful as all friends of education are for this great boon from our Sovereign, they must be yet more rejoiced at the reply which His Imperial Majesty was pleased to make to the address presented by the Senate of the Calcutta University, a reply which is in fact a benediction on the aspirations of all who like ourselves, and the supporters of the Muslim University, are endeavouring to further higher education.

I cannot do better than quote from that significant speech to which it was my privilege to listen from the King-Emperor's own lips:

‘It is to the Universities of India that I look to assist in that gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspirations of Europeans and Indians on which the future well-being of India so greatly depends. I have watched with sympathy the measures which from time to time have been taken by the Universities of India to extend the scope and raise the standard

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of instruction. Much remains to be done. No University now-a-days is complete unless it is equipped with teaching faculties in all the more important branches of science and the arts and unless it provides ample opportunities for research. You have to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western science. You have also to build up character, without which learning is of little value. You say that you recognise your great responsibilities. I bid you god-speed on the work that is before you. Let your ideals be high and your efforts to pursue them unceasing and under Providence you will succeed.'

Although these words were spoken to the Senate of the Calcutta University, yet if His Majesty had been addressing the promoters of the Hindu University, or of the Muslim University, they could not desire a more gracious recognition of their endeavours in the past or for words of higher hope for the future.

Our Hindu University is to be a residential and teaching University which will seek 'to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western science,' 'to build up character without which learning is of little value;' it will be equipped 'with teaching faculties in all the more important branches of science and the arts' and will provide 'ample opportunities for research;' and

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it will be the aim and endeavour of our University 'to assist in that gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspirations of Europeans and Indians on which the future well-being of India so greatly depends.'

It is more than half a century ago that what Lord Morley has described as one of the most momentous steps in the history of British rule in India was taken. I refer to the establishment of Universities. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the existing Universities, or to praise too highly the work which they have done in the past and are doing to-day in diffusing learning and culture.

The British Government have always believed—and their belief has not been shaken—in the value of the spread of knowledge. The recent unrest, of which all true patriots and well-wishers of India must hope we shall hear no more, has led not to discouragement and not to the discrediting of higher education, but to the desire by Government for more and better education.

No country in the world is however satisfied with its educational system, and it is not to be wondered at that there should have arisen a certain feeling of dissatisfaction in this respect in India also—a feeling which I believe I am right in saying has gradually

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resolved itself into a conviction that the intellect has been developed too exclusively and that character has been insufficiently considered and also that the existing provision for higher education and research is inadequate.

The proposed Hindu University will fill a great want by being a teaching and residential University, providing for technical instruction and encouraging research and by, what is more important, including in its courses the teaching of religion.

The demand for religious teaching has of late years been steadily increasing, and side by side with it the conviction has been growing that character can best be built up when it rests on the precepts of a great and noble religion. Certain difficulties may at first present themselves as regards religious instruction, but no such difficulties should obscure the fact of its necessity.

The Hindus as also our Musalman brethren are proud of being the heirs of a great civilisation, a great religion, and a great literature. It is to foster and conserve these that the two new Muhammadan and Hindu Universities are now being promoted.

But like everything new the proposal has provoked criticism. It has been said that

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denominational Universities are liable to promote sectarian differences. Perhaps I may be permitted specially to touch on this subject. I would say, and I think I can count on the support not only of this distinguished assembly but also of our community at large when I say it, that it is not in any spirit of hostility or unfriendliness to our Muhammadan brethren that this scheme has been launched—a scheme which, as a matter of fact, was mooted several years ago. Whatever the ideal may have been, India is big enough for two such Universities as are now before the public. Situated as we are at the present moment it must be conceded that much good can be done by diverting the charities and activities of the two communities towards the promotion of education by creating institutions which will appeal to them in a special degree. It is our earnest desire to work in a spirit of amity and concord and in such a way that the Muhammadan and Hindu Universities may be looked upon as sister institutions labouring to promote in their respective spheres the good of the children of our common country, and there is every reason to hope and believe that with both the institutions broadly organised, soundly managed and sufficiently endowed, and with the spread of knowledge which they will foster and promote, they will contribute towards creating a spirit of mutual esteem and good-will among the members of the two

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communities. Based on morality, reverence and duty, their teaching will tend to tolerance and not estrangement, and with the spread of education of which this movement is a great landmark, both Musalmans and Hindus will recognise the common humanity which unities them and the common goal to which they are striving by different paths.

It is important to remember that both the Muhammadan and Hindu Universities are to be open to students of all creeds and classes, and the mutual exchange of compliments and subscriptions between His Highness the Aga Khan and the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga and other instances where the Muhammadans and the Hindus have contributed towards the educational institutions and schemes of the sister communities augur well for the future.

While on this subject may I, as a true well-wisher of our country, express the earnest hope that any difference which may have divided the Muhammadans and the Hindus in recent times may at an early date disappear. I would not presume to dwell on the harm arising from such a state of affairs, but would again like to quote from the speech of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor in his parting message to India, where His Majesty, out of his noble solicitude for the well-being of his people, said :—

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‘It is a matter of intense satisfaction to me to realise how all classes and creeds have joined together in the true-hearted welcome which has been so universally accorded to us. Is it not possible that the same unity and concord may for the future govern the daily relations of their private and public life? The attainment of this would indeed be to us a happy outcome of our visit to India.’

No object can be dearer to the heart of India, and loyalty and patriotism both demand it that every leader of men among the two communities should exert all his influence to bring about a consummation so devoutly wished for by every body.

A fear has also been expressed that the University is designed to lower standards and to gain popularity by making degrees easy to obtain. There is no justification for any such misgivings. It will be one of the most earnest aims of the University to keep up its standards and if possible to raise them higher than those of the existing Universities, so that its graduates may be regarded as the flower of the youth of India.

The Hindu University movement is a purely educational one. Politics have not and will never have any part in our project, and our ambition is to turn out loyal subjects of the King-Emperor and good members of society

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able to hold their own in life. Worked on broad lines it must maintain, as it has secured, the interest and confidence of the Princes and people of India and the cordial co-operation of the Government. It is gratifying to see from the constitution of the proposed University that the promoters are fully alive to these needs, and it will be a privilege and an honour to the Hindu University to have His Excellency the Viceroy as its Chancellor. In this connection I am sure you will all be very glad to hear that His Excellency the Viceroy has very kindly authorised me to express his sympathy with our Hindu University movement and his good wishes for its success.

Before concluding I would like to join in the appeal to the Princes and people of India to subscribe liberally to the funds of the University. It is encouraging to hear that over 43 lakhs have already been subscribed. I hope this amount will soon be doubled and that before long a sufficient sum will be forthcoming to make the Hindu University not only self-supporting but the first educational institution in India, fully equipped with the most modern appliances and inspired by the culture of the East.

In his speech in reply to the address from the Senate of the Calcutta University His

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Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to give to India the watchword of 'Hope.' Let Hope also be the watchword of our University movement, and may God bless and reward our labours !

Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga, President of the Committee of Management of the Hindu University Society, then addressed the meeting as follows :—

Your Highness and Gentlemen,—We are met this afternoon, as you are all aware, to promote the scheme for the establishment of a Hindu University for the whole of India. At the Conference which was recently held in Benares, it was agreed that Mrs. Besant, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and myself should co-operate heartily together to bring our cherished project to fruition. We resolved to do nothing without the express sanction and approval of the Government of India. The Government have approved of the erection of a Hindu University, and it is along the lines which they have indicated that we are now proceeding and venture to hope that success will ultimately crown our efforts backed, as we know they will be, by the sympathetic co-operation of the enlightened opinion of all the various section of our community.

2. The noble and inspiring reply of the King-Emperor to the University Deputation

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on Saturday, 6th January last, ought to send a thrill of hope through the breast of every educationist in the land. I make no apology for quoting His Majesty's words. He said: 'It is to the Universities of India that I look to assist in that gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspirations of Europeans and Indians on which the future well-being of India so greatly depends.' And again: 'You have to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western science. You have also to build up character without which learning is of little value.' These words of wisdom surely ring out the deathknell of a godless education, for character can only be built up in so far as it is deeply rooted in the religious life.

3. In another paragraph of his reply the King-Emperor said: 'To-day in India I give to India the watchword of Hope. On every side I trace the signs and strivings of new life. Education has given you hope, and through better and higher education, you will build up higher and better hopes.' With these words ringing in our ears we cannot do otherwise than press forward with enthusiasm to the realisation of our scheme for a Hindu University for India.

4. The question of funds is a problem which we will have to solve. We have already

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received subscriptions amounting to Rs. 43 lakhs, which mark a beginning, and which I trust will prove but the earnest of the three crores which, at the least, will be required before a thoroughly equipped University can claim to be of the same rank as those in Europe. But I believe that with enthusiasm through all the ranks of our community in India, condensed into fruitful channels of liberality, the money will not be wanting in due time for the fulfilment of our wishes, and for landing the proposed University into the realm of achievement.

5. We cannot expect that our great project can be fully realised all at once, or indeed probably for a considerable time to come. But we can lay down the broad and definite lines along which we are to proceed with our scheme under the sanction of Government approval, and making the Central Hindu College at Benares our nucleus, we will from that central heart develop the idea of the University in a natural manner by steps slow but sure, consolidating every important stage as we go along, until at last we shall behold before our eyes a Hindu University for India second to none in its equipment for turning out its students into Hindu gentlemen thoroughly grounded in the true principles of religion, good and loyal citizens, able play their part in public affairs, and cultured in

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those arts and sciences which are suitable for their respective callings in life. This surely is a high and noble aim, and one which ought to evoke the enthusiasm and sympathy of our entire community throughout the whole of India.

6. The work of a University, as I take it, is for the development of a student into his true manhood—to make him an all-round good man, giving him the free and disciplined use of all the power of his tripartite nature, spirit, soul and body, in order that he may take his fitting place in the social order, whether in the realm of Religion, of Law, of Medicine, of Arts and Literature, of Commerce or of Music and the Fine Arts, and not the least, of Agriculture, which is now and for a long time to come will be the first and most important interest in the Empire.

7. I need hardly emphasise the fact that first and foremost our Hindu University, to be of any avail, must be penetrated with a truly religious atmosphere. The atmosphere in which it lives and moves and has its being must be spiritual, out and out; an atmosphere in which the students shall live and breathe while pursuing all their secular studies. I think it was Emerson who said to the Students in America—‘Young men, keep your eye on the Eternal, and this will exalt the whole of your

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intellectual life.' Never was a truer word spoken, and I trust the students at our Hindu University will take this wise counsel to heart. We hear a great deal spoken about the teaching of morality, and certainly this kind of teaching is better than none. But mere morality, unless rooted and grounded in the principles of true religion, is nothing more than a thin veneer of surface polish possessing no enduring life. It is when the things of the spirit are neglected that individuals and nations decline in power and influence. The great nations which have come and gone largely owe their decay to the fact that material wealth and all that made for luxury and ease and sensuous indulgence in sport and other pleasures, swamped and put into abeyance and neglect those intellectual and spiritual motives which constitute the real wealth of individuals and national manhood. India suffers to-day from the same neglect. And it is in order to rouse our countrymen from their slumber in regard to those higher things which lead on to national greatness and influence of the truest order, that we Hindus propose with heart and soul, as our Muhammadan brethren are doing with such signal service in regard to their community, to provide amongst our people of all classes, from the lowest to the highest ranks in society, an education firmly rooted in the principles of true religion, having love to God and to our fellow-men as the Basilar foundation of all our work.

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8. Gentlemen, it is inevitable that our scheme should be subjected to criticism in certain quarters, and it is only right that we should welcome criticism when it is of the sane and honest kind. The vast majority of our critics have been sympathetic in their approval of the establishment of a Hindu University, while indicating their own views as to the particular methods of carrying out the scheme. We are glad to have criticism of the constructive order. Such is a real help when endeavouring to work out the details of the constitution. There has also been some criticism of a destructive and rather vitriolic character. This is perhaps only natural, and it arises largely from a deficient perspective. But when time allows of our aims being seen through a dry and clear light, our critics may be expected to see more eye to eye with us in the great purpose we have in view.

9. Our Hindu University will necessarily be a denominational one. But it will be as remote as the poles from being sectarian. Indeed, the atmosphere of a University is one in which a sectarian spirit cannot live. It is only right that our students should be brought up in the religion of their forefathers, and the more they are grounded in the principles of their own religion, the more broad-minded and sympathetic they become towards those who adhere to other forms. This remarkable

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feature in the relations which subsist between the followers of the great religions of the world is one for which we should be profoundly thankful. We generally find much bitterness amongst ecclesiastical sectarians within our religion, whose difference of opinion or belief is based upon some trifling point of interpretation of scripture, but the attitude of the mass of the followers of our religion towards those of another is always almost one of toleration and respect. And this is inevitably so, because a man who loves and cherishes the religion of his forefathers is a religious man all the world over, no matter what may be his religious creed. The goal is a common one, namely, spiritual aspiration and the increasing desire for the knowledge of God. This is the goal towards which Muhammadans and Hindus alike are now tending in their desire to provide a religious basis for the education of their children.

10. The fundamental mistake which our critics make is in confusing sectarianism with denominationalism. The history of religion shows that while ecclesiastics of all creeds fight and squabble amongst themselves, sainthood is one and the same all the world over and in all religions.

11. We rejoice to think that our Muhammadan countrymen are similarly

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engaged in promoting a Muhammadan University at Aligarh, the seat of Muhammadan learning, under the leadership of my friend, H. H. the Aga Khan, and we wish them all success in their enterprise. They, too, believe with ourselves that only as the intellectual is penetrated with spiritual life, so only can their youths be fitted to take their true place in the social and political realm as men of wide culture and true patriotism.

12. The practical and effective answer to the suggestion that these so-called sectarian institutions will tend necessarily to embitter the feelings between us, Hindus and our Muhammadan brethren, lies in the fact of the generous subscriptions I have been offered from H. H. the Aga Khan, the Raja of Jehangirabad, Mr. Justice Rahim, Mr. Hasan Imam and others, and in the most cordial messages that have accompanied such gifts. These feelings have been reciprocated by Hindus—prominent amongst whom have been H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior—towards our Muhammadan friends, and these kindly cordialities surely ought to be looked upon as the pledges and earnest of a sincere relationship between us and our Muhammadan friends, and are at the same time a tribute to that unification of spirit which the atmosphere of University life carries with it wherever it is to be found. The Government of India, in their cordial approval of the

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schemes for Muhammedan and Hindu Universities, know fully well the unifying effect of such institutions in the promotion of kindly feelings and they also know that Universities and University life are valuable assets on the side of loyalty to law and to the social order. They create good will all round and an atmosphere of life in which deeds of darkness find no place, but where everything that tends to the uplifting of the people to a higher platform of being finds sustenance and support.

13. As I have already said our University scheme will necessarily be one of slow growth and development. It will take time to construct its constitution so as to harmonise all the different views of the numerous sections in which Hinduism finds itself to-day. But time and patience will overcome all difficulties, even the difficulty of obtaining the necessary funds. Of one thing we are certain and that is the Government approval of our schemes and the cordial support of the Education Minister without which we might labour in vain.

14. Gentlemen, I need not detain you further at the present time, as I will have other opportunities of speaking upon this topic. I would, however, refer you to the illuminating pamphlet on "The Hindu University of Benares," by my friend Pandit Madan Mohan

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Malaviya, which contains a mine of information on the subject, and is worthy of study by all interested in Hindu University education. I hope and trust that the scheme on which we have embarked will be taken up with enthusiasm by every Hindu who has the moral regeneration and the intellectual uplifting of his people at heart—an enthusiasm which nothing will be allowed to damp until the object of our ardent desire is fully accomplished. Then shall India begin to take her true place amongst the nations of the world. God speed the day.

In presiding over a public meeting held on the grounds of the Central Hindu College, Benares, on the 22nd January 1912, H. H. Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narayan Singh, G.C.I.E., of Benares, made the following speech :—

MRS. BESANT, MAHARAJA BAHADUR AND
GENTLEMEN,—

Before coming to the subject-matter of to-day's meeting I, in the name of the citizens of Benares, welcome in our midst the Hindu University deputation headed by our distinguished countryman, the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, than whom no fitter person could be found to head the deputation on the score of his birth, position and education. We offer them our warmest welcome and wish them all

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success in their most laudable, unselfish and patriotic undertaking for the advancement of our country.

It will be quite presumptuous on my part if I were to dilate at any length upon the benefits of education, much more so of an education based on national lines and combined with religious instruction, as better tongues than mine have addressed you on this subject before and I understand will address you shortly once again. But I must say this much that education on sound and proper lines has always been the cause of the progress of a country and no nation or country has progressed without it. I have used the qualifying words "sound" and "proper" advisedly, as by education I do not mean simply learning to read and write a language but that real education which forms character and is truly the making of a man, developing his natural talents and capabilities and turning him into an honest, God-fearing citizen of the world whose vision is not bounded by material horizon but penetrates far far away into the recesses of the eternal hereafter.

This result can only be achieved by the establishment of teaching universities and by combining religious with secular training. Our examining universities established by our benign and paternal Government have played

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their useful parts and were most useful institutions for the India of fifty years before. They have paved the paths of progress and advancement and shown us the way. We owe our all to them and are proud of having belonged to them. But they have whetted our appetite for more knowledge and increased the scope of our vision. They have shown us the necessity of combining secular with religious training to make a true man, and of the danger of leaving the national line of education altogether. To satisfy these ideals we are assembled to-day to devise ways and means to achieve the object in view.

As I have said on more occasions than one the present is the time for the making or unmaking of India. The undreamt-of peace and prosperity we are enjoying under the ægis of the British Government is unparalleled in the history of this or any other country. We are under the protection of a benign Government which jealously guards our interests and whose only aim is to make us happy and contented. The mighty arm of the British keeps our invaders at a distance and the country is enjoying unexampled peace and tranquillity. If we fail to take advantage of this golden opportunity to ameliorate our condition, we are lost beyond redemption. So let us be up and doing, placing our confidence in God who always helps those who help themselves.

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I am afraid it is now too late to discuss the matter of the utility of denominational universities which I am prone to think are not to be found anywhere in the world. Equally futile will be any discussion on the necessity or otherwise of newer universities when we have already five existing amongst us which could very usefully serve the need of the country if liberally financed. To my mind even one fully-equipped College is worth more than many half-famished universities. But as I have said before it is now too late to thrash the point. The matter has gone too far and no good can come out of this discussion now. When our Hon'ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, to whom the initiation of this movement is really due, came to see me in this connection some five or six years before, I myself had grave doubts as to the success of the movement and made no secret of it to him. But with his characteristic zeal our friend continued working overcoming all obstacles with his strong determination which is a leading feature of his character. He worked and worked and worked, and to-day I have the greatest pleasure of congratulating him on the almost complete success of his mission.

The project is now launched on business lines. Our Muhammadan brethren under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan—that illustrious personage whom we all are

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proud to own as our countryman—are preparing to have a University of their own, and we Hindus are supplementing their endeavour by establishing another University practically on the same lines. I wish both the sister universities all success and pray heartily for their long life and advancement under the fostering motherly care of our older universities. May they thrive together side by side in healthy competition imparting good to Indians—Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians and other sects—and serve to bring the two great religious divisions of India closer and closer, making them feel as belonging to one Indian nation working together on the path of peaceful development towards prosperity and tranquillity under the motherly protecting arm of England.

It is very easy to launch a scheme but it is equally difficult to see it through. The scheme has been launched and it is now a question of national honour to see that it is brought to a successful termination. I have no doubt the mighty Hindu nation which has shown such unmistakable signs of enthusiasm over the project will fully recognize its responsibility in this respect and make the University worthy of its name.

I am afraid the pressing need of education amongst my own subjects, coupled with dozens

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of most pressing reforms which are urgently necessary for the advancement of my own people who have a prior claim over my purse as they are solely instrumental in filling it, compels me to restrict my donation to a limit far less than what I would have subscribed in other circumstances, and I would beg of you, members of the University Committee, to accept a donation of one lakh of rupees from me to the fund *for the present*, and I assure you that if my finances and the needs of my own subjects permit, I might be able to supplement my donation materially after a few years' time.

As to the land which you require for building the University in or about Benares, I assure you that if you select a plot of land belonging to me in this locality, I shall place all facilities in your way to acquire it, and if the land is uncultivated I shall feel most happy to give it over to you for the purposes of the University. I sincerely hope this laudable object will not suffer for lack of land.

I would now close. I confidently hope that liberal response will be given in to-day's meeting to your appeal for raising funds for the University which is sure to do good to the country and to the Government if carried on proper lines. May the Protector of the Universe bless it !

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In reply to the Hindu University deputation, consisting of the Hon'ble the Maharaja Bahadur of Durbhanga, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Babu Mangla Prasad and others that waited on His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur, His Highness was pleased to say—

‘The great work which you, gentlemen, have undertaken to establish a Hindu University is highly commendable. I am pleased to know that in the proposed University, in addition to industrial, agricultural, commercial and scientific education, instruction will be imparted in higher Sanskrit learning, in the *Vedas* and *Vedangas* and in *Ayurveda* (Hindu medicine), and I am particularly pleased to know that along with various kinds of useful secular knowledge instruction will be imparted in the principles of religion which is extremely valuable in making both this life and life hereafter happy and which is supremely helpful in making a man steadfast in his *Dharma*, in the discharge of his duties towards God and man. And this, verily, is the glory of knowledge that the person who possess it should be firm in his *Dharma*, truthful and honest, courteous and considerate, and in every way reliable. This result cannot be secured by merely secular education, unaccompanied with religious instruction. You, gentlemen, have, therefore, done the right thing in deciding that in the proposed University religious instruction should receive its due

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importance and that our young men should be made pure of character so far as education can so make them.

'You have referred to the motto of my house. A time there was when the whole Hindunation was noted for its firmness in *Dharma* and that was a time of pride and power for the Hindu race. We now see that earnest devotion and faith in religion are on the wane. Your proposal, therefore, to combine religious instruction with secular is very commendable.

I fully hope that Sri Eklingji will crown this very beneficent movement, which well-wishers of the people like you have started, with success.

A largely-attended public meeting was held at Indore on the evening of 18th February, 1913, at Edward Hall, to accord welcome to the Hindu University deputation. His Highness the Maharaja Holkar presided.

His Highness the Maharaja Holkar spoke as follows:—'Maharaja, members of the deputation and gentlemen,—While thanking you for the kind words that you have said, I can only add that I wish the financial condition had permitted me to render more effectual support. I do not propose to expatiate on the benefits

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of education or deal with the details of this scheme. These matters I will leave to others, more cognizant of the facts, who will shortly address you. The scheme put before you to-day is one that has my deepest sympathy and firm support; for I believe that a wisely conducted residential and teaching University such as this is to be, seeking to combine what is best in eastern learning with the teaching of western science and knowledge, while clinging to religion as its guide, will do more than any of the various panaceas which have been put forward to unite the Hindu, the Moslem and the European, and sweep away unrest. The promotion of character as well as the training of intellect is one of the chief aims of the scheme. This is a very difficult task, and every nerve will have to be strained to ensure success. But I am not despondent, believing firmly that the fundamental tenets of our faith, purged of undesirable modern accretions, are fully capable of steering the human soul safely through life and of ennobling and strengthening the character.

Before concluding, may I remind you, gentlemen, that our Moslem brethren are also founding a University, to which I wish all success; and I trust that in time to come our University and theirs will stand out as two beacons guiding the people of India to what is noble and true. I hope this great scheme will

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appeal to all of you and will receive all the material support your means will allow.

Speech of Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E. of Darbhanga at a public meeting of the citizens of Meerut.

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The question of a Hindu University has long been in the air. My friend the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been long working at it with his usual energy and unrivalled powers of organisation. You are aware, gentlemen, that several projects, more or less crude, have been put forward for the favourable consideration of the public. I was convinced, however, that before the Hindus could draw up any complete scheme which would be generally acceptable it was absolutely necessary to get some indication of the wishes of the Government on the subject. In a conversation I had at Allahabad in July with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the subject, I told him that I could attend public meetings in support of the cause after I had been assured of the support of the Government of India that the scheme would receive, and that ample facilities would be afforded for the study of the religion of our forefathers under the auspices of the leaders of the Sanatana Dharma. It was then decided that I should approach the

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Government and ascertain its views. I came to Simla in August with this object, but was informed that the question was under the consideration of the Government and that it would take some weeks to get a reply. I returned to Simla last week and had an opportunity of discussing the matter with my friend the Member for Education. I am now in a position to tell you, gentlemen, that the response has been most favourable. Our lasting gratitude is due to his Excellency the Viceroy and to the Hon'ble Member for Education for the very kindly personal interest which they have taken in the matter. I shall have the pleasure of laying before you the correspondence that has passed between me and the Hon. Mr. Butler, and I am convinced that you will consider it eminently satisfactory. He has most kindly agreed to receive a deputation at Delhi after his return from Bombay when we are to discuss the details of the scheme with him.

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Our sacred religion lays down rules of proper conduct. We called it *dharma*, common to all, although different ways and methods have been prescribed by our Rishis to suit people of different temperaments and environments; but all eventually lead to the Almighty. *Vidya* as understood by our ancestors represented much more than mere secular learning. It meant knowledge. True education

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then should not stop with physical and intellectual training, but should extend to the spiritual. It should prepare boys for the work and for the careers that they have to follow as well as enable them to gain mastery over their lower natures and to fit them for the higher life. Anarchy and sedition can find no place in a society where education is regulated on such principles. Our Rishis foreseeing the danger of one-sided development provided for the cultivation of the intellect as well as that of the soul. Rules of conduct were held to be as useful and obligatory as knowledge of books. The one was considered to be a necessary compliment of the other. It has been truly said by an European *savant* that Hindus eat religiously and sleep religiously. I hold that an education which does not provide for instruction in the religion of one's forefathers can never be complete, and am convinced that a Hindu will be a better Hindu, a Christian a better Christian, and a Mahomedan a better Mahomedan if he has implicit faith in his God and in the religion of his forefathers. I have never believed in a Godless education and have invariably advocated the necessity of combining secular education with religious training. I join in the movement for the university in the earnest hope that it will produce this happy combination and that the boys whom it shall turn out will be God-loving, truthful, loyal to their Sovereign, devoted to their country, and

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fit in every way to take their place in the great future that lies before them.

Speech by the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga at a public meeting held at Lucknow in support of the Hindu University movement.

MY FRIENDS,

I rise to thank you for the very warm welcome which the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and myself received at the hands of the people of this historic city and for the very kind and indulgent manner in which the President of this great gathering and Rai Ganga Prasad Varma Bahadur have introduced us to you.

We are met to-day to interest you in the promotion of a well-equipped Hindu University for the whole of India, confident that when the scheme is fairly placed before you it will command your entire sympathy and hearty co-operation as well as your pecuniary support.

The proposal has already been well received in all the centres we have hitherto visited, and we are confident that the entire Hindu community of India will so rally round the project as to make it in time a complete success.

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To raise up such a University as we contemplate, starting with the Benares College as a nucleus, will, according to our present calculations, ultimately cost about one crore of rupees. Towards this sum we have already received promises amounting to about Rs. 68 lakhs. This is a good beginning, and we will not slacken our effort until the whole amount is in sight. We have received large subscriptions from the rich in our community, but we may assure all our friends in the lowlier walks of life, that it is to the smaller sums contributed by the millions that we look for completing the financial success of the scheme.

I need hardly allude to the great necessity for a Hindu University. Everyone feels it who has anything to do with the educational wants of our time. Education is in the air everywhere, and if we in India are to hold our own in the progress of the world we must advance along the same lines in University life, taking our own special educational problems into account, which have placed the great nations in the world at their present high stage of intellectual and moral culture.

The history of the great universities in Europe and America show conclusively that these institutions were not planted down ready made all at once in their full equipment. They simply grew and developed into life in each

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case as the intellectual necessities of the times required to be met. And it has been found by practical experience that the greater the number of universities a country possesses, by so much the more has it been able to advance in the scale of civilisation.

Take, for instance, the case of the small country of Scotland with only, even at the present day, not more than about $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of inhabitants. She has possessed four flourishing universities, dating their origin back about 500 years. Scotland has perhaps had the most complete system of educational facilities for her youth, second to none anywhere. From the common schools in every parish, where the sons of the labourers and of the landlords sat side by side on terms of perfect equality, a boy, however poor, could proceed up, by easy bridges, to the secondary school, the college, and ultimately to the university and there take all the honours his character and ability enable him to grasp. It is common knowledge to us all how the sons of Scotland have got on in the world. They are in evidence in India at the present day.

What we Hindus in this country greatly need is an educational path made easy for the lowliest student possessing intellectual ability to pass right on to the university to acquire that wide general culture which the very

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atmosphere there engenders, and to receive also that specific training which he requires for his future vocation in life.

While the history of the rise and development of the universities in England, France, Germany, and in the United States of America will afford us most interesting study, and may serve us in some measure as guide and inspiration in planning out the lines along which we are to proceed in establishing our Hindu University, we must never forget that we cannot import wholesale Western methods into the East. We must patiently work out our own problems and solve them in accordance with the spirit of the social and educational requirements of our own country and community.

The flourishing universities of Oxford and Cambridge which made their appearance in the twelfth century, and the large number of these institutions which have come into existence in England in more modern times, all testify to the living forces in operation in that country for extending and developing the higher educational facilities to meet the wants of the day. In Ireland the same spirit has been manifesting itself and in 1845 the three Queen's Colleges were established in Belfast, Cork and Galway, and in 1909 the National University of Ireland came into being. In Germany

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where the State has always been supreme in matters of education, there are a large number of independent universities along with a system of technical schools which supply all the needs in higher instruction. In France there is one university with schools throughout all the country. The university consists of five faculties—theology, law, medicine, philosophy and science—that act independently. But if we wish to see the greatest progress in modern university extension we have to go to the United States of America, where each State has a university of its own, having each at its disposal lavish gifts of money bestowed by wealthy patriotic citizens, whose desire it is that these institutions should be equipped in the most modern manner with everything that is best for enabling the students to attain the highest culture, along with their own vocational training to enable them to become worthy citizens of a great country.

It will therefore be seen that each country has to work out its own educational and university problems according to its own needs, and we Hindus will require, with all wisdom and patience to work out ours, with all the light we can gather from the past experience of others.

For one thing, and this is fundamental with us, all our education as Hindus must start

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from a religious foundation and be penetrated through and through with a truly religious spirit. The spiritual life must be predominant and permeate all our morality (without which mere morality is dead) and pass on into genuine character. The highest end of Hindu University life must be the creation of a man whose whole wide intellectual culture is based and grounded on truly religious spirit.

Our University may be called a sectarian one, and so it will be, if that name means that our Hindu students will be grounded in the faith of their forefathers and in all the historical traditions of our ancestral beliefs. A boy should know all he can about the past greatness of his people and the religious manners and customs of those who have gone before him. Grounded in religion, and cultured in the modern sciences and arts, we expect a Hindu University student to grow up into a man of character, honouring the faith of his fathers, as well as the majesty of the State, and having a broad sympathy with all fellow-citizens who follow other religious beliefs. For this is one of the prominent features in university life and training, that it tends, not to accentuate religious differences, but makes everywhere for the promotion of the unity of civic life.

We can see this spirit working already in

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India. Our Mahomedan brethren are promoting a sectarian university of their own, and we Hindus wish them all success, and if anything will tend to create and nurture the friendly feelings which are already growing between the two great religious communities in India, it will be the deeply religious spirit and the wide intellectual culture which university life bestows on all the students. I need hardly say that all this adds to the maintenance of social order and to the feeling of genuine patriotism.

Gentlemen, it is a very happy sign of the times that all people of different beliefs and persuasions are united in feeling the necessity of religious training along with secular education and we hope that steps will be taken to arrange for such training in all hostels and boarding houses attached to different schools and colleges in India.

Much of the success of our University will depend upon the correct choice of the professors and teachers. These must not only be the best obtainable in their respective departments as men of character and ability, but leaders who will occupy much the position of elder brothers to the students infusing their own spirit into them, sympathising, helping, stimulating and so directing their studies as to draw out all their powers to give them the facile use of all their faculties latent and active. The

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university authorities may be trusted to select the professors with discretion and judgment.

In India, as in some other countries, part of the work of the university must be the training of teachers for the lower schools. At the base of our social pyramid we have primary education of a kind, and not yet compulsory. But the great want in the majority of our primary schools is the lack of good teachers. At present, we have in many districts men very scantily endowed with any sort of teaching qualifications whatever, subsisting on miserably low salaries and yet having the duty of educating the children at the most critical and formative period of their lives. This has to be put right for if the teaching and training at the base is wrong the superstructure must necessarily suffer. It is of the greatest importance therefore that provision should be made for the creation of a class of teachers adequately remunerated, for the supervision of our primary and secondary educational institutions and this may well form part of the functions of the University.

The University of the future will place at the disposal of all classes for the common benefit of the community both the methods of study and the result of original research, and will seek out the various means by which this can be achieved.

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We are glad to be assured that the Government of India is in hearty sympathy with our movement for the establishment of a Hindu University as it is with the special efforts of our Mahomedan friends to raise a University for the students of their own community. We will take the Government with us in everything we do submitting all our plans for their approval, and taking their advice as to the best steps to be taken to accomplish our object. We also acknowledge with thankfulness the offer of the Minister for Education to give us all the assistance in his power to further the ends we have in view.

I am not forgetful that amongst all the appliances and educational apparatus with which a modern University has to be furnished a good library is one of the essentials. Indeed, Thomas Carlyle, in his Rectorial address to the students of Edinburgh, said that one of the best universities was a library of good books. I am sure that the authorities of our coming Hindu University will see that Carlyle's recommendation will be faithfully followed.

To sum up briefly what I have already indicated, we aim at establishing, in course of time, an efficient Hindu University well furnished with the best of professors and teachers that can be procured, and equipped with all the most modern appliances, and

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apparatus needful for the various departments of the institution, a University penetrated by religious and spiritual life while training all the students in the various arts and sciences leading to the vocational pursuits which individually will fill their after-life, but at the same time keeping well in mind that much depends on the spirit in which the professional studies are to be pursued, and above all that the aims of a liberal culture must be paramount and never be allowed to be sacrificed to the preparation for a craft or profession.

I trust I have in some measure made clear to you the great objects of our desire, and that believing in the soundness of our scheme, you each will give us your hearty sympathy and co-operation as well as your pecuniary support to the measure of your ability. If this is done, then the present vision of a noble Hindu University for India will not be long in becoming an accomplished fact.

Before I conclude I wish to say a few words regarding the present position of the University movement. I would earnestly impress upon all the subscribers to the Hindu University fund the urgent necessity of sending in the whole or a substantial portion of what they have so kindly subscribed. We are far below our Mahomedan friends in this respect as our realisations amount to a little over seven

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lakhs only up to the present moment. This is most discouraging; but I am sure I have only to point out this state of things to them in order to make them realise the supreme necessity of doing all they can to wipe off the reproach that is being cast upon us that we are not prepared to follow up our professions by our deeds. As regards subscriptions, however, I am delighted to assure you that the offers we have hitherto received show a very satisfactory state of things. Our grateful thanks are due to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir who presided at our meeting at Srinagar on the first of this month and subscribed a sum the aggregate value of which amounts to nearly three and half lakhs of rupees. I beg also to offer on behalf of the Hindu University Committee our most grateful acknowledgments to His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior and His Highness the Maharaja of Indore. These Princes gave me five lakhs each when I had the good fortune of meeting them in Simla, and we cannot be too thankful for the kind donation of ten thousand rupees which my honourable friend the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad has made to the Hindu University and for the fresh evidence that his noble action has thereby afforded of the amity and co-operation between the two great sister communities in all essential points regarding the welfare and future development of this great Empire. The deputation has lately

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visited the town of Moradabad, Bareilly, Naini Tal, Ambala, and Saharanpur and has been received with the greatest enthusiasm everywhere. We cannot be too grateful to the people of these towns who have helped us in the past, and I am perfectly certain that the total subscriptions will exceed a crore of rupess after our deputation has visited Bombay, the Central Provinces, Rajputana, the Punjab, Gujrat and Kathiawar in the winter. We have every reason to congratulate ourselves, gentlemen, on the great progress that the two sister Universities have made and we are confident that His Excellency the Viceroy, the future Chancellor of both, will have the satisfaction of having started them and put them on their legs before the time comes for the laying down of the high office which has been entrusted to him by our Imperial Master and Sovereign.



CHAPTER V.

Hon'ble Pt. Malaviya's Speech.

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 22nd March 1915, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler moved for leave to introduce the Benares Hindu University Bill.

Speaking on the motion the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :—

“My Lord, I should be wanting in my duty if I allowed this occasion to pass without expressing the deep gratitude that we feel towards Your Excellency for the broad-minded sympathy and large-hearted statesmanship with which Your Excellency has encouraged and supported the movement which has taken its first material shape in the Bill which is before us to-day. I should also be wanting in my duty if I did not express our sincere gratitude to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler for the generous sympathy with which he has supported and helped us.

“My Lord, I look forward to the day when students and professors, and donors and others interested in the Benares Hindu University will meet on the banks of the

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Ganges to celebrate the Donors's Day ; and I feel certain that the name that will stand at the head of the list on such a day will be the honoured name of Your Excellency, for there is no donor who has made a greater, a more generous gift to this new movement than Your Excellency has done. My Lord, generations of Hindu Students yet to come will recall with grateful reverence the name of Your Excellency for having given the start to this University. Nor will they ever forget the debt of gratitude they owe to Sir Harcourt Butler for the help he has given to it.

“I should not take up the time of the Council to-day with a discussion of the provisions of the Bill. The time for it is not yet. But some remarks which have been made point to the existence of certain misapprehensions which might be removed.

“Two Hon'ble Members have taken exception to the proposed University on the ground that it will be a sectarian university. Both of my friends the Hon'ble Mr. Ghaznavi and the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad have expressed an apprehension that being sectarian, in its character, it may foster or strengthen separatist tendencies. They have said that the existing Universities have been exercising a unifying influence, in removing sectarian differences between Hindus and Muhammadans. My

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Lord, the University will be a denominational institution, but not a sectarian one. It will not promote narrow sectarianism but a broad liberation of mind and a religious spirit which will promote brotherly feeling between man and man. Unfortunately we are all aware that the absence of sectarian religious Universities, the absence of any compulsory religious education in our State Universities, has not prevented the growth of sectarian feeling in the country. I believe, My Lord, instruction in the truths of religion, whether it would be Hindus or Mussulmans, whether it be imparted to the students of the Benares Hindu University or of the Aligarh Moslem University, will tend to produce men who, if they are true to their God, their King and their country. And I look forward to the time when the students who will pass out of such Universities, will meet each other in a closer embrace as sons of the same Motherland than they do at present.

“Objection has also been taken to the provision for compulsory religious education in the proposed University. My Lord, to remove that provision would be like cutting the heart out of the scheme. Many people deplore the absence of a provision for religious education in our existing institutions, and it seems that there would not be much reason for the establishment of a new University if it were not that we wish to make up for an acknowledged

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deficiency in existing system. It is to be regretted that some people are afraid of the influence of religion: I regret I cannot share their views. That influence is ever ennobling. I believe, My Lord, that where the true religious spirit is inculcated, there must be an elevating feeling of humility. And where there is love of God, there will be a greater love and less hatred of man, and therefore I venture to say that if religious instruction will be made compulsory, it will lead to nothing but good, not only for Hindu Students but for other students as well, who will go to the new University.

“My Lord, it has also been said that if sectarian Universities must come into existence, we need not carry sectarianism to an extreme. The Hon’ble Mr. Setalvad has referred to the provision in the Bill that in the University Court, which will be the supreme governing body of the University, none but Hindus are to be members. The reason for it needs to be explained. The University has to teach the Vedas, the religious scriptures, and to impart instruction even in rituals and other religious ceremonies which are practised by Hindus. The Bill provides that there shall be two bodies in the institution, the Court and Senate. The Court will be the administrative body, will deal mainly with matters of finance and general administration, providing means for the

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establishment of Chairs, hostels and other institutions. The Senate will be the academic body, having charge of instruction, examination and discipline of students. Well, membership on the Court has been confined to Hindus in order that Hindus who may make benefactions in favour of the institution should feel satisfied that their charities will be administered by men who will be in religious sympathy with them and in a position to appreciate their motives and their desire. With that knowledge they will make larger endowments to support the University than they would make if the endowment was to be administered by men of different persuasions and faiths. There is nothing uncharitable in such an arrangement. Besides this, there is a second reason. When the Sanskrit College was first established in 1793, in the time of Lord Cornwallis, there was provision made for the teaching of the Vedas and other religious books in it. Later on, some missionary gentlemen took exception to the idea that a Christian Government should encourage the teaching on what they described as heathen religion; and for that reason the teaching of religion was stopped in that institution. In formulating proposals for the Benares Hindu University, it was felt that, so far as possible no room should be left for any apprehension which might prevent religious minded Hindu donors from making large contributions to the University, and that the

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best means of giving them an assurance that instruction in Hindu Religion shall always be an integral part of the education which the University will provide, and that their religious endowments will be administered in conformity with their wishes, was that the membership of the University Court should be confined to Hindus. There is, however, no such restriction in regard to membership of the Senate. In the Senate, which will be the soul of the University, we shall invite co-operation, we shall seek it and welcome it. Fully one-fourth of the Senate may not be Hindus. There will be no disqualification on the ground of religion in the selection of professors. No restriction is placed upon students of any creed or any class coming to the University. It will thus appear that while we confine membership on the administrative body of the University the Court, to members of the Hindu community, we keep open the Senate which, as I have said, is the soul of the University, to teachers of every creed and race. That is a real provision. And we intend to get the very best teachers irrespective of any consideration of race or creed, from whichever part of the world we can, in order that our students should sit at their feet and learn the knowledge that they can impart.

“I should like to say one word more with regard to the provision that religious instruction

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should be compulsory in the case of Hindu students. It has been said that we should not make it compulsory even for Hindu students, as it might keep some Hindu students who do not desire to receive religious instruction, from the benefit of education at the Hindu University. But, my Lord, in the first place, the general religious instruction which will be imparted will be such as will be acceptable to all sections of the Hindu Community. In the second place, a number of Hindu students at present attend missionary institutions where the study of religion is compulsory. So I hope that even those Hindu students who may not appreciate the teaching of religion, will not be kept away from the proposed University on the ground that religious instruction will be compulsory there.

“I do not think, my Lord, that I need take up more time at present. I beg again to express the gratitude that I am sure millions of Hindus will feel towards your Excellency's Government, and personally towards your Excellency, and towards Sir Harcourt Butler, when they hear of the Bill which has been introduced here to-day.”

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At the Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 1st October 1915, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler moved that the report of the select committee on the Bill be taken into consideration. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in supporting the Bill, spoke as follows :—

My Lord, it is my pleasing duty to offer my hearty thanks to your Excellency, to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, and to the members of this Council for the very generous support extended to this measure for the establishment of a Hindu University. My Lord, the policy of which it is the generous policy of trust in the people and of sympathy with them in their hopes and aspirations which has been the keynote of your Excellency's administration.

The history of this movement hardly requires to be repeated here. But it may interest some of its friends to know that it was in 1904, that the first meeting was held at which, under the presidency of His Highness the Maharajah of Benares, the idea of such a University was promulgated. Owing, however, to a variety of causes into which it is not necessary to enter here, it was not until 1911 that the matter was taken up in real earnest. From 1911 to 1915 was not too long a period for the birth of a University when we remember that the London University took seven years to be established from the time the

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idea was first taken up. My Lord, in this connection, we must not overlook the work done by my Muhammadan friends. The idea of establishing a Muslim University was vigorously worked up early in the year 1911 when His Highness the Aga Khan made a tour in the country to enlist sympathy and support for it. Your Excellency was pleased to express your appreciation of the effort so made when replying to an address at Lahore. You were pleased to speak approvingly of the 'spirited response made by the Muhammadan community to the appeal for a Muslim University recently carried throughout the length and breadth of India under the brilliant leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan.' We are thus indebted for a part of our success to our Muhammadan brethern, for the work which they did as pioneers in our common cause. We are indebted to His Highness the Aga Khan for having given practical shape to the question of a Muslim University at Aligarh; and to my friend, the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad for having carried on the first correspondence with the Government which elicited the Secretary of State's approval to the idea of a denominational University in this country. My Lord, I confidently hope that it will not be long before a Muslim University will also come into existence, and that the two—a Hindu University and a Muslim University—will work together in friendly

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co-operation for the good of the youth of India, Hindu and Mussalmans, that they will work as sister institutions to promote that real cordiality of feeling between them, the want of which so much hampers our progress and is regretted by all who desire the good of India.

My lord, I have carefully read the criticisms that have been levelled against the Bill before us, and it is only fair that I should explain the attitude and action of the promoters of the Hindu University. We are very thankful to the Secretary of State for according his sanction to the proposal to establish what have been described as denominational Universities—which marks a new and liberal departure in the educational policy of the Government. But our thanks are due, in a larger measure, to the Government of India who have from the beginning given to the movement their consistent and generous support. In the first proposals which we placed before the Government, we desired that the Viceroy and Governor General of India should be the Chancellor, *ex-officio*, of the University. That was unanimously supported by the Government of India, and our most sincere thanks are due to them for that support. But unfortunately for us the Secretary of State did not think it right that the Viceroy should be the *ex-officio* Chancellor of the University; he decided that

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the University should have the power of electing its own Chancellor; but he also decided, and we are very thankful to him for it, that the University should have the power to appoint its Professors without reference to the Government. The privilege of having the head of the Government as head of the University was one that was naturally highly valued by us, and we submitted a representation asking that the decision of the Secretary of State on that point might be re-considered. But on being given to understand that that decision was final, we reconciled ourselves to it, finding solace in the fact that the University would have the right instead to elect its own Chancellor. But subsequently the Secretary of State decided that even this privilege should be withheld from us, and that the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces should be the Chancellor, *ex-officio*, and should exercise all the powers which the Governor-General was to have exercised. This new proposal met with strong disapproval both from the Muhammadan and the Hindu community. It was thought that we had arrived at an impasse, and that the scheme would have to be dropped. It was in that state of affairs that, with the generous sympathy of your Excellency's Government and of the very kind support which the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler gave us, we were able to arrive at the compromise which is now

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embodied in the Bill, under which the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces has become the official Visitor of the University, and the University has the right to elect its own Chancellor. This conclusion has secured much of what the Government wanted; but it has, at the same time, allotted to us a sufficiently large measure of independence and freedom in the internal affairs of the University. My Lord, we did not reconcile ourselves to this solution without reason. We felt that as the University is to have its home in the United Provinces, it will be an advantage that the head of the United Provinces Government should have an official status in the University. We recognised that that will be the best arrangement to ensure that the relations between him and the University should be cordial and friendly. I hope and trust that the fact of the Lieutenant-Governor being the official Visitor of the University will prove to be a guarantee and an assurance that such cordial relations will exist between the University and the Government. My Lord, much objection has been taken to the large powers that have been reserved to the Governor-General under section 19 of the Bill. We have accepted them, because, as the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler has explained, they are only emergency powers, which may never be exercised, and can only rarely be exercised. I do hope they will seldom, if ever, be exercised.

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But assuming that the Governor-General in Council should at any time think that there is anything wrong with the University which requires an explanation, we shall neither be afraid nor reluctant to offer such explanation. The movement has from the start been worked in the conviction, the deliberate conviction that it is essential for the success of the University that it should secure the good-will and sympathy of the Government, and that it should always retain that sympathy. The section in question provides that the Governor-General in Council may, in certain circumstances, ask the University to submit an explanation in regard to certain matters, and that if the explanation should not satisfy him, that he may offer such advice, as he may think fit to the University. I hope that the existence of this provision in the Act will not be felt in the real working of the Act. But even with the power which the Government have thought it fit to reserve in their hands, it is only fair to say that no University existing in India enjoys so large a measure of freedom in the management of its affairs as your Excellency's Government has been pleased to secure to the Benares Hindu University, and we feel very deeply grateful for it. The University will have full freedom in appointing its own Professors and examiners. It is conceivable that among the Professors so appointed there may sometimes be a case—I hope there will never be one—in which

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the University did not know as much about the person appointed as the Government. I have no doubt that if such a case should ever arise, it will be dealt with satisfactorily by correspondence. I am sure that with the explanation and assurance given by the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler that if it should become necessary that an explanation should be called for from any member of the staff engaged by the University, the person concerned will not be in a less favourable position than any one serving under Government. The provision in the Bill to that effect will not prevent any good man from offering his services to the University.

My lord, some of my countrymen, who are keenly interested in the proposed University and the educational movement which it represents, have somewhat misunderstood the position of the Hindu University Society and of the promoters of the University in respect of some of the powers vested in the Visitor. They seem to think that we have agreed to those powers without demur. That is not so. Sir Harcourt Butler knows that in regard to some of these powers, I have almost—I should not say—irritated him, but certainly gone beyond what he considered to be the proper limits in pressing for certain omissions. We have fully represented our views to the Government whenever we thought it proper

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to do so. But having done our duty in that direction, we have agreed to accept what the Government has decided to give. I hope, my Lord, the future will prove that we have not acted wrongly.

I am certain that as in course of time experience will show that there are amendments needed in the Act—which I hope will be passed to-day, the Government will receive representations for such amendments in a thoroughly sympathetic spirit. I take it, my Lord, that the object of the Government and the University is to create a great Centre of education, where the education imparted would be the soundest and the best. And in that view, I feel assured that there will be no difficulty in Government agreeing to any amendment which may be found necessary. As this Bill is being passed in very special circumstances, and we have agreed to avoid controversy at present, I fear some amendments will have to be made at no distant date; but it is best perhaps that we should bring them forward when the University Court and the Senate have been constituted and when we have found out by actual experience where exactly the shoe pinches.

My Lord, I thank God that this movement to provide further and better facilities for high education for our young men has come to bear

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fruits in the course of these few years. It will not be out of place to mention here that one of the most fascinating ideas for which we are indebted to Lord Curzon, was the idea of a real residential and teaching University in India. I am tempted to quote the words in which his Lordship expressed his ideal of the University which he desired to see established in this country.

“What ought the ideal University to be in India as elsewhere?” said Lord Curzon. ‘As the name implies, it ought to be a place where all knowledge is taught by the best teachers to all who seem to acquire it, where the knowledge is always turned to good purposes, and where its boundaries are receiving a constant extension.’

My Lord, I hope and pray that though we shall begin in a humble way in the fulness of time that the proposed University will fully answer this description. His Lordship wanted to see in India a University which would really deserve the name, as he said :

‘A University which shall gather round it collegiate institutions proud of affiliation, and worthy to enjoy it; whose students, housed in residential quarters in close connection with the parent University, shall feel the inner meaning of a corporate life; where the

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governing body of the University shall be guided by expert advice and the teachers shall have a real influence upon the teaching where the courses of study shall be framed for the development, not of the facial automaton, but of the thoughtful mind; where the Professors will draw near to the pupils and mould their characters for good; and where the pupils will begin to value knowledge for its own sake; and as a means to an end, I should like this spark of the sacred fire that has been brought across the seas lit in one or two places at least before I leave the country, and I would confidently leave others to keep alive the flame.'

My Lord, though this noble wish was not realised in the time of Lord Curzon, I am sure he will be pleased to hear that such a University has come into existence—or rather is coming into existence—through the generous support of your Excellency's Government.

It is still more pleasing to think that the University that is coming to be will be better in one respect than the University outlined by Lord Curzon, because it will make religion an integral part of the education that will be provided. My Lord, I believe in the living power of religion, and it is a matter of great satisfaction to us to know that your Excellency is strongly in favour of religious education. The want of such education in our schools and

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Colleges has long been felt. I believe that the absence of any provision for religious education in the otherwise excellent system which Government has introduced and worked for the last sixty years in this country, has been responsible for many unfortunate results. I do not wish to dwell upon them. I am thankful to think that this acknowledged deficiency is going to be removed at the proposed important centre of education, which is happily going to be established at a place which may well be described as the most important centre of religion and learning of the Hindus. I venture to hope, my Lord, that the good influence of the Benares Hindu University in the matter of religious instruction will be felt in other institutions, far and near, and that in the course of a few years religious instruction will become an intergral part of the education imparted in schools and Colleges supported by the Government and the people.

My Lord seme well-meaning friends have been apprehensive lest we may not agree at the Hindu University as to what the religious education of our youth should be. This is due to a misapprehension. We have, no doubt, many differences among us; we are divided by many sects and forms of worship. Considering that we embrace a population of nearly 250 millions, it should not surprise any one that we have so many sects and divisions among us.

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But, my Lord, in spite of these differences, there is a body of truths and precepts which are accepted by all denominations of our people. For sixteen years and more religious instruction has been compulsory at the Central Hindu College at Benarés. There has been no complaint that the instruction so imparted has been found to be unacceptable to any Hindu boy who has gone to that institution. We have, no doubt, to adopt a compromise in these matters. If we do so, no difficulties will be found to be insuperable. I should like, in this connection, to remind those friends who are apprehensive that we may not be able to agree in regard to matters relating to religion, to remember some wise words of Cardinal Newman. Speaking of the constitution of a Faculty of Theology in a University, and pointing out how incomplete a University would be which did not possess such a Faculty, that great teacher has said :—‘No two persons perhaps are to be found, however intimate, however congenial in tastes and judgments, however eager to have one heart and one soul, but must deny themselves for the sake of each other much they like and desire, if they are to live together happily. Compromise in a large sense of the word, is the first principle of combination and every one who insists on enjoying his rights to the full, and his opinion without toleration for his neighbours, and his own way in all things, will soon have all things altogether to himself, and

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no one to share them with him.'

In matters of minor differences that there must be a compromise, I believe we have shown by sixteen years of work at the Central Hindu College that we can drop minor differences, while we adhere to the substantial object which we have in view, and therefore, though the provision for religious instruction has not been put in the Act in the form which I thought was best. I am thankful that it is there to give an assurance to the public that religious instruction shall be a compulsory part of the education at the University. My Lord, I do not wish to dwell upon the amendment which I suggested in my note to the Report of the Select Committee, as I am convinced that no good purpose will be served by my doing so. I accept the provision for religious instruction, as it stands, in the hope and faith that there will be no such differences in the University regarding religious instruction as will defeat one of its basic principles, namely, that religious instruction should form an integral part of the education imparted by it.

I do not think, my Lord, that I should be justified in taking up the time of the Council any further. I once more beg to offer my thanks to your Excellency, to Sir Harcourt Butler and to the Government of India, for helping this University to come into existence,

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and I conclude with the earnest hope and prayer, that this centre of light and life, which is coming into existence, will produce students who will not only be intellectually equal to the best of their fellow-students in other parts of the world, but will also be trained to live noble lives, to love God, to love their country and to be loyal to the Crown.



CHAPTER VI.

The Benares Hindu University Act.

(ACT XVI OF 1915.)

Passed by the Governor-General of India
in Council.

*(Received the assent of the Governor-General on the
1st October, 1915).*

An Act to establish and incorporate a teaching and residential Hindu University at Benares.

Whereas it is expedient to establish and incorporate a teaching and residential Hindu University at Benares, and to dissolve the Hindu University Society, a Society registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860, and to transfer to, and vest in the said University all property and rights now vested in the said Society; it is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Benares Hindu University Act, 1915.

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(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—

- (a) “College” means any College or institution maintained or admitted to privileges by the University ;
- (b) “Council” means the University Council ;
- (c) “Court” means the University Court ;
- (d) “Faculty” means a Faculty of the University ;
- (e) “Regulations” means the Regulations of the University for the time being in force ;
- (f) “Senate” means the Senate of the University ;
- (g) “Statutes” means the Statutes of the University for the time being in force ; and
- (h) “University” means the Benares Hindu University.

3. (1) The First Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor who shall be the persons specified in this behalf by a notification

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of the Governor-General in Council in the Gazette of India, and the persons indicated in Schedule I as members of the Court and the Senate, and all persons who may hereafter become, or be appointed as such officers or members, so long as they continue to hold such office or membership, shall be constituted a body corporate by the name of the Benares Hindu University.

(2) The University shall have perpetual succession and a Common Seal, and shall sue, and be sued, by the name first aforesaid.

(3) The University shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purposes, among others, of making provision for imparting education, literary, artistic and scientific, as well as agricultural, technical, commercial and professional, of furthering the prosecution of original research, and of giving instruction in Hindu theology and religion, and of promoting the study of literature, art, philosophy, history, medicine and science, and of imparting physical and moral training.

10. (1) The Council shall be the executive body of the Court, and shall, in addition to *ex-officio* members, consist of not more than thirty elected members :

Provided that five members, other than

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ex-officio members, shall be members of the Senate elected by the Senate.

(2) The Council shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as may be vested in it by the Statutes.

11. (1) The Senate shall be the academic body of the University and, subject to the Act, the Statutes and Regulations, shall have entire charge of the organization of instruction in the University and the Colleges, the courses of study and the examination and discipline of students and the conferment of ordinary and honorary degrees.

(2) The Senate shall ordinarily consist of not less than fifty members.

12. (1) The Syndicate shall be the executive body of the Senate, and shall consist of seventeen members ;

Provided that ten at least of the members of the Syndicate, other than *ex-officio* members, shall be University Professors or Principals or Professors of Colleges.

(2) The Syndicate shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as may be vested in it by the Statutes.

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13. (1) The accounts of the University shall, once at least in every year and at intervals of not more than fifteen months, be audited by Auditors appointed by the Court;

Provided that no person shall be appointed an Auditor in the exercise of this power, unless he is qualified in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Companies Act, 1913, to audit accounts of companies under the Act.

(2) The accounts, when audited, shall be published in the Gazette of India, and a copy of the accounts, together with the Auditor's report, shall be submitted to the Visitor.

14. The University shall invest, and keep invested, in securities in which trust funds may be invested, in accordance with the provisions of the law relating to trusts in British India, a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees as a permanent endowment to meet the recurring charges of the University other than charges in respect of scholarships, prizes and rewards ;

Provided that—

(1) any Government securities, as defined by the Indian Securities Act, 1886, which may be helped by the University shall, for the purposes of this Section, be reckoned at their face-value ; and

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(2) the aforesaid sum of fifty lakhs shall be reduced by such sum as, at the commencement of this Act, the Governor-General in Council shall, by order in writing, declare to be the total capitalised value, for the purposes of this Section,—

(a) of all permanent recurring grants of money which have been made to the University by any Indian Prince or Chief ; and

(b) of the total income accruing from immovable property which has been transferred to the University.

15. (1) The Central Hindu College, Benares, shall, from such date as the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, appoint in this behalf, be deemed to be a College maintained by the University, and the University may found and maintain other Colleges and institutions in Benares for the purposes of carrying out instruction and research.

4. (1) The University shall, subject to the Regulations, be open to persons of all classes, castes and creeds, but provision shall be made for religious instruction and examination in Hindu religion only.

(2) The Court shall have power to make

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Statute providing that instruction in Hindu religion shall be compulsory in the case of Hindu students, and shall also have power to make special arrangements for the religious instruction of Jain or Sikh students from funds provided for this purpose.

5. The Governor-General of India for the time being shall be the Lord Rector of the University; and such persons, as may be specified in the Statutes, shall be the Patrons and Vice-Patrons thereof.

6. (1) The Lieutenant-Governor for the time being of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh shall be the Visitor of the University.

(2) The Visitor shall have the right of inspecting the University and its Colleges generally, and for the purpose of seeing that the proceedings of the University are in conformity with this Act and the Statutes and Regulations. The Visitor may, by order in writing, annul any such proceeding which is not in conformity with this Act and the Statutes and Regulations;

Provided that, before making any such order, he shall call upon the University to show cause why such an order should not be made, and if any cause is shown within a reasonable time, shall consider the same.

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7. The following shall be the authorities and officers of the University :—

- I.—The Chancellor,
- II.—The Pro-Chancellor,
- III.—The Vice-Chancellor,
- IV.—The Pro-Vice-Chancellor,
- V.—The Court,
- VI.—The Council,
- VII.—The Senate,
- VIII.—The Syndicate,
- IX.—The Faculties and their Deans,
- X.—The Registrar,
- XI.—The Treasurer, and
- XII.—Such other authorities and officers as may be provided for by the Statutes.

8. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the powers and duties of the officers of the University, the term for which they shall hold office and the filling up of casual vacancies in such offices, shall be provided for by the Statutes.

9. (1) The Court shall be the supreme governing body of the University in administrative matters, and shall have power to review the acts of the Senate (save when the Senate has acted in accordance with powers conferred on it under this Act, the Statutes or the Regulations), and shall exercise all the powers

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of the University not otherwise provided for by this Act or the Statutes.

(2) Save in the case of the first Court, no person not being a Hindu shall become, or be appointed a member of the Court.

(2) With the approval of the Senate and the sanction of the Visitor, and subject to the Statutes and Regulations, the University may admit Colleges and institutions in Benares to such privileges of the University, subject to such conditions, as it thinks fit.

16. The degrees, diplomas, certificates and other academic distinctions granted by the University, shall be recognized by the Government to the same extent and in the same manner as the corresponding degrees, diplomas, certificates and other academic distinctions granted by any other University incorporated by an Act of the Governor-General in Council.

17. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Statutes may provide for any or all of the following matters, namely :—

- (a) the constitution, powers and duties of the Court, the Council, the Senate, the Syndicate, and such other bodies, as

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it may be deemed necessary to constitute from time to time ;

- (b) the election and continuance in office of the members of the bodies, including the continuance in office of the first members and the filling of vacancies of members, and all other matters relative to those bodies for which it may be necessary or desirable to provide ;
- (c) the appointment, powers and duties of the necessary officers of the University;
- (d) the instruction of Hindu students in Hindu religion ; and
- (e) all other matters relating to the administration of the University.

(2) The first Statutes shall be those set out in Schedule I.

(3) The Court may, from time to time, make new or additional Statutes, or may amend or repeal the Statutes.

(4) The Council shall have power to draft, and propose to the Court, Statutes to be made by the Court, and it shall be the duty of the Court to consider the same.

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(5) All new Statutes or additions to the Statutes or amendments or repeals to Statutes, other than Statutes providing for the instruction of Hindu students in Hindu religion, shall require the previous approval of the Visitor, who may sanction, disallow, or remit for further consideration :

Provided that no Statute making a change in the constitution of the Court, the Council, the Senate or the Syndicate, as provided for in the first Statutes, shall be made without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

18. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Act and the Statutes, the Regulations may provide for any or all of the following matters, namely :—

- (a) the payment of fees to the University and their amount ;
- (b) the admission of students to the University and their examination ;
- (c) the tenure of office and terms and manner of appointment and the duties of the examiners and examining boards ;
- (d) the discipline to be enforced in regard to the graduates and under-graduates ;

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- (e) the degrees, diplomas, certificates and other academic distinctions to be awarded by the University, the qualifications for the same, and the means to be taken relating to the granting and obtaining of the same ;
- (f) the withdrawal of degrees, diplomas, certificates and other academic distinctions ;
- (g) the removal from membership of the University of graduates and undergraduates ; and
- (h) all such other subjects as are required or authorised by the Act or Statutes to be prescribed by means of Regulations.

(2) The first Regulations shall be framed as directed by the Governor-General in Council, and shall receive his previous approval.

(3) The Senate, from time to time, may make new or additional Regulations, or amend or repeal Regulations.

(4) The Syndicate shall have power to draft, and propose to the Senate, Regulations to be made by the Senate, and it shall be the duty of the Senate to consider the same.

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(5) All new Regulations or additions to the Regulations, or amendments or repeals to Regulations, shall require the previous approval of the Visitor, who may sanction, disallow or remit for further consideration :

Provided that no Regulation making a change in the first Regulations as to the admission of students to the University, shall be made without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

19. (1) If, at any time, the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that special reasons exist which make the removal of any member of the teaching staff desirable in the interest of the University, or that, as a special measure, the appointment of a certain examiner or examiners to report to him is desirable to maintain the standard of University examinations, or that the scale of staff of the University is inadequate, or that in any other respect the affairs of the University are not managed in the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the University or in accordance with this Act and the Statutes and Regulations, he may indicate to the Council any matter in regard to which he desires explanation, and call upon that body to offer such explanation as it may desire to offer, with any proposals which it may desire to make, within such time as he may prescribe.

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(2) If the Council fails to offer any explanation within the time prescribed, or offers an explanation or makes proposals which, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, is or are unsatisfactory, the Governor-General in Council may issue such instructions, as appear to him to be necessary and desirable in the circumstances of the case, and the Court shall give effect to such instructions.

20. (1) From the commencement of this Act, the Hindu University Society shall be dissolved, and all property, movable and immovable, and all rights, powers and privileges of the Hindu University Society which, immediately before the commencement of this Act, belonged to, or were vested in, the said Society, shall vest in the University, and shall be applied to the objects and purposes for which the University is incorporated.

(2) From the commencement of this Act, all debts and liabilities of the said Society shall be transferred and attached to the University, and shall thereafter be discharged and satisfied by the University.

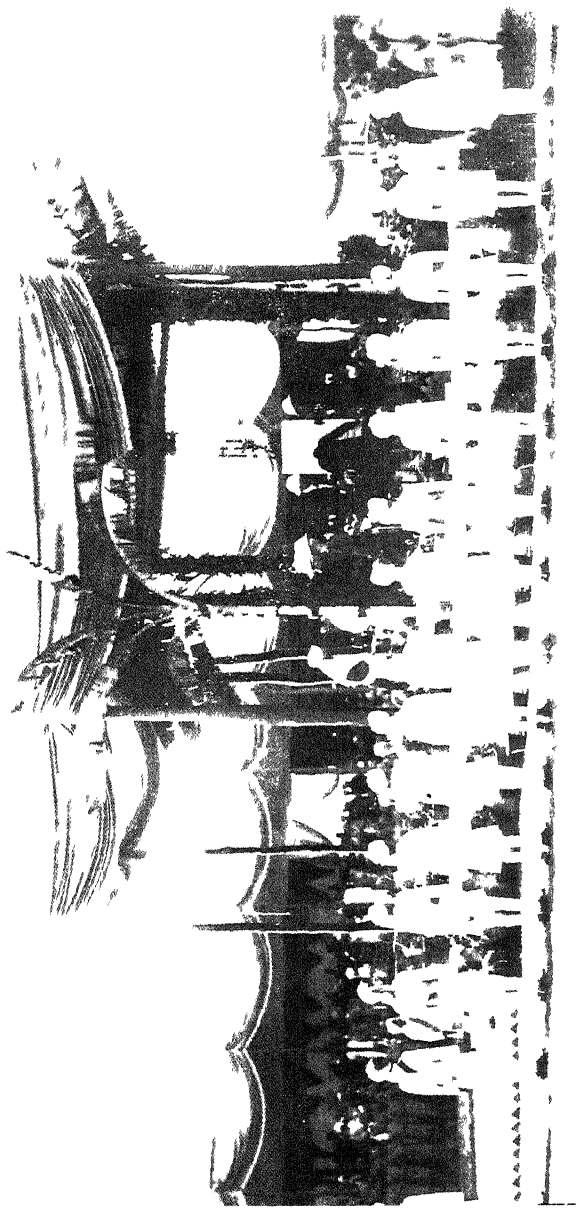
(3) Any will, deed or other document, whether made or executed before or after the commencement of this Act, which contains any bequest, gift or trust in favour of the Central Hindu College or the said Society, shall, on the

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commencement of this Act, be construed as if the University were therein named, instead of the said College or Society. ,



HIS EXCELLENCY LORD HARDINGE LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE



CHAPTER VII.

The Foundation-Stone Laying Ceremony.

The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Benares Hindu University was performed by His Excellency Lord Hardinge, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, on 4th February, 1916.

A huge pandal was erected, and it was tastefully decorated with yellow and purple hangings and many flags; while palms and other pot plants were arranged on the steps leading to the dais, and all round the amphitheatre. The dais in the Centre where the foundation-stone was placed was also very prettily decorated. During the fortnight preceding, as well as on the four days succeeding, *i. e.*, up to Vasanṭa Pañchamī, the 8th February, various special Hindu rites and ceremonies, Vāstu-pūjā, Rudra-Yāga, Gāyatrī-Japa, Veda-pāṭha, *etc.*, were performed day after day under the direction of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Adityaram Bhattacharya, Pandit Ambādāsa Shastri, Pandit Padmanābha Shastri, and other distinguished Pandits.

Long before the time appointed for the

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ceremony, a large crowd began to assemble in the pandal, and by 11-30 a. m. almost every seat in the amphitheatre was occupied. Guards of Honour from the Fifth Hampshires and Seventh Rajputs, stood in a semicircle at the foot of the dais on which were the seats of the Viceroy and other distinguished guests, while the Central Hindu College Cadet Corps stood round three sides of the small dais where the foundation-stone was placed. The unflinching endurance shown by the latter, who stood in the full glare of the midday sun, for almost two hours, without one of them giving way (when eight of the Fifth Hampshire and four of the Seventh Rajputs became unconscious under the heat, and had to be carried away by the C. H. C. Ambulance Corps and the Police Ambulance Corps), speaks well for the training they had received. For this feat, they were especially complimented, later on, by H. H. the Mahārājā of Bikaner.

Exactly at noon, the Guards of Honour presented arms, and the band played the opening bars of the National Anthem, as His Excellency the Viceroy entered and took his seat.

On His Excellency's right hand were seated :—

1. Major-General His Highness Maharaja

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Sir Partab Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,
Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir,

2. His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraja Sir Sumer Singhji Bahadur,
Maharaja of Jodhpur,

3. Colonel His Highness Raj Rajeshwar
Narendra Shiromani Shri Maharajadhiraja Sir
Ganga Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D.,
A.D.C., Maharaja of Bikaner,

4. Major His Highness Maharao Sir
Umed Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maha-
rao of Kotah,

5. Major His Highness Maharajadhiraja
Sir Madan Singhji Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Maharaja of Kishengarh,

6. His Highness Sawai Maharaja Sir Jai
Singhji Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharaja
of Alwar,

7. His Highness Maharawal Shri Sir
Bijey Singhji Sahib Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maha-
rawal of Dungarpur,

8. His Highness Maharaja Lokendra
Govind Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Datia,

9. His Highness Maharaja Sir Prabhu

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Narain Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Benares.

10. His Highness Raj-Rana Sir Bhawani Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Raj-Rana of Jhalawar,

11. His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malwandar Bahadur, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., Maharaja of Nabha, and

12. The Raja of Sohawal.

While on his left hand were :—

1. His Excellency Lord Carmichael, Governor of Bengal,

2. His Honour Sir James Meston, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh,

3. His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab,

4. His Honour Sir Edward Gait, Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa,

5. Sir Shankaran Nair, Kt.

6. His Highness Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, K. C. S. I., Maharaja of Darbhanga,

FOUNDATION CEREMONY

7. Sardar Daljit Singh,
8. The Hon'ble Dr. Sundar Lal Rai Bahadur, B.A., LL.D., C.I.E.,
9. Dr. Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari,
10. Sir Gooroodas Banerji, Kt.,
11. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B. A., LL. B.,
12. The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Bhagwati Prasad Singh Bahadur, K. C. I. E., Maharaja of Balrampur,
13. Sir Prabha Shankar Dalpat Ram Pattani, and
14. Seth Narottam Morarji Gokul Dass.

In the blocks of seats beyond these on both sides were many other distinguished guests, Legislators, tituler Rājās and Mahārājās, Mahāmahopādhyāyas, Shams-ul-ulamas, Principals of Colleges, a large gathering of the Trustees and Donors of the Benares Hindu University, who had come together from all parts of the country, and all the most distinguished residents of Benares.

As the notes of the National Anthem died

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away, twelve little girls from the Central Hindu College Girls' School, who were under the guidance of the Principal, Miss L. Edger, M. A., and were stationed on the steps leading down from the Viceregal chair into the amphitheatre, chanted a short Sanskrit invocation, first to Ganapati, and then to the Goddess Sarasvatī, a very fitting opening to the ceremony. The great Pandit, Mahamahopadhyaya Shiva Kumar Sāstri, then came forward and uttered svastivāchana shlokas, words of prayer for the blessing of God upon the work about to be performed, after which the Mahārājā of Darbhanga, as President of the Hindu University Society, read the following address :

THE HINDU UNIVERSITY SOCIETY'S ADDRESS.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“It is my proud privilege to-day to respectfully offer to Your Excellency, on behalf of the Hindu University Society, a most cordial welcome to this ancient Seat of Learning, and to express our fervent gratitude for your gracious acceptance of our invitation to lay the Foundation-Stone of the Hindu University, which will ever remain associated, in the minds of the Indian People, with a Viceroy whose



HIS EXCELLENCY LORD HARDINGE DELIVERING THE ADDRESS

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generous support and sympathetic encouragement have contributed so much to the realization of the earnest hopes and aspirations of Hindu India, which will now take concrete shape in this Institution.

“The history of the movement for the establishment of the University, is briefly told. It carries us back to the year 1904, when, at a meeting held under the presidency of His Highness the Mahārājā of Benares, the proposal to found a Hindu University was first put forward. The idea took some years to mature, and led, in 1911, to the formation of the Hindu University Society, which was registered under that name. The Society was successful in obtaining the very next year, through the support of Your Excellency’s Government, the approval of His Majesty’s Secretary of State for India of the proposal to establish a teaching and residential University on the lines proposed. A short period of a little over two years, spent in the discussion of details, saw the Benares Hindu University Bill passed into law and placed on the Statute Book of the land on the first of October, 1915.

“It is a source of deep gratification that the idea has effectively touched the hearts of the people of the land. The great and noble Princes, the landed gentry and the general public, have all come forward as one body to

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generously support the movement. Their contributions to the University Funds now amount to close upon one crore of rupees, including the capitalised value of the annual grants, sanctioned by Ruling Princes, to which Your Excellency's Government has been pleased to add an annual grant of a lakh of rupees. The selection of a suitable site, affording full facilities for the ever-progressive development of a great University, growing and expanding with the growth of ideas and ideals, as well as of the multifarious demands and needs of modern life and its many-sided activities, was the first measure which engaged the attention of the Society, and the site on which we are assembled to-day, extending over more than 1200 acres, was selected after much consideration.

“The incorporation of the Central Hindu College in the new University had been contemplated from the beginning, and, thanks to the ready co-operation of Mrs. Annie Besant and the other Trustees of the College, whose labour of love and devotion had built up that institution, the College has been transferred to the Society to serve as the nucleus of the University. The movement reaches its culminating point to-day, when we are met to witness the Foundation of the University being laid by Your Excellency.

“The reasons which demanded the

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establishment of such a University may also be briefly stated. It is impossible to recall the state of education which existed in India at the beginning of the British rule and compare it with the stage it has now reached, without a sense of deep gratitude to the Government which has brought about this momentous change. Great also is our indebtedness to our existing Universities which have contributed in so large a measure to the diffusion of higher education among our people. But these Universities are, at present, mainly examining bodies, and there is an ever-growing consensus of opinion that those Universities alone can best discharge their high functions and fulfil their mission which teach as well as examine, which impart not only literary but also scientific and technical education; combined with research, and which mould the character of their alumni by helping them to live their academic life in healthy environments, under the personal influence and loving care of good and capable teachers.

“There was another equally powerful reason for inaugurating this movement. While we highly appreciate the value and need of education in European Arts and Sciences, we cannot divest ourselves of the consciousness that we have inherited a culture and civilization of our own, which reaches further back in time than that of any other people, and which

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possesses, as we believe, in a special degree the elements of social stability as well as the fundamental principles of physical, intellectual and spiritual progress and welfare. Amidst all the vicissitudes through which Hindu society has passed, it has, in all essentials, clung to that civilization and has ever been governed by it. There was naturally a widespread desire in our community that we should have a central educational institution of our own, to preserve and promote our distinctive civilization and culture, and to instruct our youth in the sacred precepts of our religion. The promoters of the University believe that if our students are brought up in our traditions and culture and instructed in the precepts of our religion, they will grow up into men of vigorous intellects and high character, who love their Motherland, are loyal to the King, and are in every way fit to be useful members of the community and worthy citizens of a great Empire.

“Deep, therefore, is our gratitude and great our joy that, under the dispensation of a benign Providence, with the generous support of the Suzerain Power of the Rulers of Indian States, and of the public, we witness here to-day the foundation of a great Institution, which seeks to combine the usefulness and efficiency of the modern system of education, with the high spiritual ideals of ancient India.

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"This auspicious day will ever remain memorable in the history of our country. Never before perhaps in that history did the highest representative of the Sovereign and the Rulers of so many States and Provinces meet to co-operate with the people to bring into existence an educational institution like the proposed University. The gratitude that we feel towards Your Excellency is too deep for words, for our success is in the largest measure due to the generous sympathy and support which the movement has received at Your Excellency's hands. Nor should we omit to express our obligations to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler for his valued advice and friendly help at every important step in our progress. We are also deeply thankful to the Rulers of Provinces and Indian States, who have honoured and encouraged us by their presence. Equally grateful are we to the distinguished scholars and educationists, who have, by so kindly responding to our invitation, given us an assurance of their guidance and co-operation in the great task that lies before us of building up an Ideal University and making it in every way worthy of the continued patronage and support of all well-wishers of this land.

"We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to all subscribers to the funds of the University, particularly to Ruling

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Princes and other principal donors, who have helped us with liberal contributions.

“Time will not permit of our mentioning the names even of all donors of large sums, but we may be allowed especially to express our obligations to His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur, His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, His Highness the Maharao of Kotah, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, His Highness the Maharaja of Kishengarh, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha, His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawar, His Highness the Maharaja of Datia among the Ruling Princes, and to the Hon’ble Maharaja of Darbhanga, the Hon’ble Maharaja of Cossimbazar, Sir Rash Behari Ghose, Thakur Suraj Bakhsh Singh of Sitapur, Babu Brajendra Kishore Roy Choudhury, the Hon’ble Babu Moti Chand and Dr. Sunder Lal, who have each contributed one lakh or more to the funds of the University.

“We also desire to thank the Government

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of India for the handsome grant of one lakh a year. We fully realize that we require a much larger sum than we have yet been able to secure. But we have every hope that the generous public will help us with all the funds we need to build up this new and great Temple of Learning.

“Your Excellency’s administration, which we are grieved to think is drawing to a close, will ever be memorable for the spirit of true and active sympathy with our national sentiments and aspirations and for an earnest endeavour to appreciate and satisfy popular needs. Many are the wise and beneficent measures which have distinguished Your Excellency’s Viceroyalty.

“Among these, the support you have given to the cause of education, in general, and of higher education, in particular, the inauguration of residential and teaching Universities and the liberalization of educational policy by sanctioning the establishment of a private University, will stand out conspicuous and be gratefully cherished in the memory of the people. These measures have won for Your Excellency the deep admiration and grateful affection of all classes and sections of the community, and have secured for you a highly honoured place in the history of our land. As a memento of the deep and kindly interest

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which Your Excellency has taken in the Hindu University, the Jodhpur Darbar have endowed a Chair of Technology, with an endowment of Rs. 24,000 a year, which they and we desire to associate with your honoured name, and we crave Your Excellency's permission to our doing so. That endowment will, we hope, serve as a nucleus for the development of the Faculty of Technology of the University in the near future.

"We are also deeply indebted to His Honour Sir James Meston for the keen personal interest he has taken in our work; and we take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude both to him and to the officers of the Government for the invaluable assistance and co-operation we have received from them in making the requisite arrangements for this function.

"We cannot conclude without giving special expression of our gratitude to H. H. the Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narain Singh of Benares for the paternal interest he has taken in and the fostering support he has always extended, from the very beginning of its life, to the Central Hindu College and to the scheme of the University itself, and last but not least for the liberality of his co-operation in arranging for the reception of our distinguished and honoured guest on this occasion.



H. E. Lord Hardinge

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"I now humbly request Your Excellency to be pleased to perform the great ceremony which has brought us here to-day, and we fervently pray to the God of all nations that he may bless the great work Your Excellency is about to inaugurate, so that it may fulfil, in ever greater and greater measure, its pure and noble purpose of welding together the noblest culture of the East and of the West, and that He may vouchsafe health and happiness to Your Excellency, peace and prosperity to this ancient land and to the great Empire of which it forms a part, and long life, glory, and power to the noble and gracious King-Emperor who rules over this Empire."

The address was placed in a beautifully engraved silver casket, fashioned to represent a temple of Shiva, and was presented to His Excellency by Sir Gooroodas Banerji. The Viceroy then made the following reply :

H. E. THE VICEROY'S REPLY.

"It has seldom fallen to my lot to address a more distinguished gathering than that which I see before me to-day, including, as it does, the Governor of Bengal, a constellation of Lieutenant-Governors, a veritable galaxy of Ruling Princes, and so much of the flower of India's intellect. What is it that has brought together this brilliant assemblage from so

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many distant parts of Hindustan? What is the lodestone that is exerting so powerful an influence? It is there in front of us, a fine block of marble, but little different in outward appearance from many others that I have helped to set in their places during the past five years. But, in spite of its apparent simplicity, it possesses a deep significance, for it betokens a new departure in the history of education in India, and one that has attracted the most intense interest on the part of all good and thoughtful Hindus. This foundation-stone will mark a definite step in the advance towards an ideal that has stirred to its very depths the imagination of India. The demand for enlightenment and educational progress grows ever stronger, and the ceremony we are gathered here to perform offers some small response to that demand and may perhaps pave the way for its more rapid fulfilment. To such an audience as I have before me here, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the need for providing greater facilities for University education of this country. We all know or have heard of the pressure that exists in our existing University centres; of the enlargement of classes to unwieldy dimensions to admit of the inclusion of the ever-increasing number of students; of the melancholy wanderings of applicants for entrance from college to college when all colleges were already full to overflowing. There is a great division of opinion

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between the advocates of quality, and there is much to be said for both. The charge is frequently brought against Government that they are too eager for quality and too ready to ignore the demand for quantity, and comparisons are made, that do not lack force, between the number of Universities in England, America, and other countries, and the number available to the 300 millions of India. Nevertheless, it is the declared policy of the Government of India to do all within their power and within their means to multiply the number of Universities throughout India, realizing, as we do, that the greatest boon Government can give to India is the diffusion of higher education through the creation of new Universities. Many, many more are needed, but the new Universities to be established at Dacca, Benares and Bankipore, soon to be followed, I hope, by Universities in Burma and the Central Provinces, may be regarded as steps taken in the right direction. Here, at any rate, in this city, is a case where we can all stand together upon a common platform, for no one can dispute that the Benares Hindu University will add to the facilities for higher education and relieve to some extent the pressure of existing institutions, while it is the proud boast of at least one of those who have so successfully engineered this movement, that the degrees of the Benares Hindu University shall be not only not lower

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but higher in standard than those of existing Universities. It has even been claimed that this University will only justify its existence when the education given within its precincts shall make it unnecessary for Indian students to go to foreign countries for their studies, and when such expeditions will be limited to advanced scholars and professors, who will travel abroad to exchange ideas with the doctors and learned men of other Continents, in order to make the latest researches, in all branches of knowledge available to their own alumni at Benares.

“That is a great and noble aim; and if it is fulfilled, as I hope, it may be, this University will satisfy the claims alike of quantity and quality; and I think all will admit that Government have not been backward to give their co-operation and assistance to a scheme so full of promise. But this University is going to do something more than merely increase the existing facilities for higher education. Its constitution embodies principles that are new to India, in that this is to be a teaching and residential, as contrasted with an affiliating and examining, University. I am not ignorant that these principles have already secured general acceptance from most thoughtful men, but they were not fully recognized when our older Universities were established, and they can only be partially applied to their

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constitutions. Perhaps I was wrong to say that these principles are new to India, for though in ancient times there was nothing quite like a modern University, its prototype may be dimly discerned in the far distant past, and the tradition that comes down to us is one of thousands of students gathered round such great teachers as Vashishtha and Gautama; and, indeed, the whole Indian idea of education is wrapped up in the conception of a group of pupils surrounding their "guru" in loving reverence, and not only imbibing the words of wisdom that fall from his lips, but also looking up to him for guidance in religion and morality and moulding their characters in accordance with his precept and example. To this and similar schemes my Government have consistently given their support, and I and my advisers came to the conclusion at an early stage in the history of the movement that it would be wrong and impolitic on the part of Government to resist the desire shown by the Hindu and Muhammadan communities of India to inaugurate special Universities of this new type. But, whether the idea of a residential teaching University be new or old, there is no doubt that it is a departure from the existing model, nor is this the only departure that characterises this enterprise. Indeed, I do not myself think that, important as the distinction may be, it is going to have so great an influence upon generations yet unborn as that other departure

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that the constitution of this institution embodies, and that is indeed of the very essence of its creation. I mean its denominational character. There are some who shudder at the very word 'denominational,' and some who dislike new departure of any kind. Controversy has raged round such points in England, and educational problems have a way of stirring up more feeling than almost any other social question. I do not think this is unnatural; for their importance cannot be exaggerated. If you realize that the object of an educational system must be to draw out from every man and woman the very best that is in them, so that their talents may be developed to their fullest capacity, not only for their individual fulfilment of themselves, but also for the benefit of the society of which they find themselves members—if you realize this, is it not well that men should strive with might and main to obtain and be content with only the very best, and is it not natural that the strife should produce a mighty clash of opinion and conviction ?

“But the questions at issue cannot be settled by theory and discussion. Education is not an exact science, and never will be. We must also have experiment; and I for one consider that Lord Ripon was a sagacious man when he deprecated that the educational system of this country should be cast in one common

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mould, and advocated, as he was never tired of doing, that variety which alone, he urged, can secure the free development of every side and every aspect of national character. I should like to remind you, too, that this new departure of a denominational University is not quite such a novel idea as some of you may think, for the Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon, while recognizing that the declared neutrality of the State forbids its connecting the institutions directly maintained by it with any one form of faith, suggested the establishment of institutions of widely different types, in which might be inculcated such forms of faith as the various sections of the community may accept as desirable for the formation of character and the awakening of thought. They recognized the danger that a denominational college runs some risk of confining its benefits to a particular section of the community, and thus of deepening the lines of difference already existing. But I am not terrified by the bogey of religious intolerance; rather do I think that a deep belief in and reverence for one's own religion ought to foster a spirit of respect for the religious convictions of others; and signs are not wanting that the day is dawning, when tolerance and mutual goodwill shall take the place of fanaticism and hatred. That Commission touched with unerring finger the weakest spot in our existing system; for, though something may be done by

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mental and moral discipline and something by the precept and example of professors, these are but shifting sands upon which to build character, without the foundation of religious teaching and the steadying influence of a religious atmosphere. My own personal conviction, strengthened by what I have seen in other lands, is that education without religion is of but little worth. That, then, is the great idea that has brought you all together to witness the ceremonial inception of this experiment. Here, you hope, in the not far distant future, to see preserved and fostered all that is best in Hindu ideals of life and thought: all that is noblest of Hindu religion and tradition, culture and civilization, and grafted upon that tree, healthy and strong in its own natural soil, you hope to see growing in it and of it, all that is good and great of Western science, industry, and art, so that your young men may go forth, not only inspired with pure and noble ideals, but also equipped for the development of their mother country along the more material lines of progress and prosperity.

“As regards the actual constitution, this has been a matter of prolonged negotiation with the promoters of the University movement and with the Secretary of State. Into the history of the negotiations it is not necessary for me to enter. I need merely observe that my Government have throughout been animated

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by one main purpose, to leave the greatest possible freedom to the University, consistent with its development on such safe and sound lines as would be approved generally by the Hindu community. I feel confident that the promoters of this scheme will zealously see to the right conduct of this institution. I am glad to think that I shall leave the University in the capable and sympathetic hands of Sir James Meston, who is your first Visitor. The position of Visitor is one of dignity and influence, and I know that you will always be able to rely on Sir James Meston for wise help and sound advice. We have not arrived at the present stage without a considerable amount of effort and hard work, and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my high appreciation of the zealous, but reasonable, spirit in which the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Sunder Lal, and others, on behalf of the promoters of the University, conducted negotiations with Sir Harcourt Butler as representing the Government of India, to whose great tact and conciliatory attitude I believe the promoters of the scheme would pay as high an eulogy as I wish to pay myself, and thus enabled the measure which gives birth to this institution to be passed through my Council in time of war as a non-controversial measure. I also tender my most hearty congratulations to the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,

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and other members of the deputation that spent so much time and labour in enlisting the sympathy and generosity of their countrymen for this scheme. I watched with the greatest interest their wanderings from city to city, and noted the welcome they everywhere received and the enthusiasm of their audiences. "Heaven helps those that help themselves;" and the result is that they have succeeded in collecting a sum that guarantees a commencement upon a sound financial footing, and justifies us in taking to-day this first step towards putting the scheme into material shape. We have heard the names of many of those who have contributed with princely liberality to make this possible, and the Benares Hindu University should never forget how much she owes to the Ruling Chiefs of India. But much more will be required in the future to secure the early completion of all the requisite buildings, and I trust that the generosity of the great Hindu community may be like an ever-flowing stream to feed this Fount of Learning. What will be wanted even more than money, is really competent professors and teachers; so let me make this appeal to the whole of Hindu India to send her best men from every quarter here, so that they may help to create a true University atmosphere, and thus make this great experiment a great success. The Act which we passed last October has still to be put into force, and I am glad to announce that the

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necessary steps are being taken to do so at an early date. I trust that when the University has been thus brought into legal existence, every care will be taken to proceed with due deliberation and circumspection, so as to ensure that the quality of the instruction given and the surroundings in which it is imparted, may be worthy of the great position which this University aspires to attain.

"To my friend, His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, special gratitude is due, for not only does the Central Hindu College, which is to form part of the nucleus of the new University, owe much of its life and inception to him, but he is also making concessions in connection with the acquisition of the land for this great new experiment; and where could a Hindu University be more happily placed than here in Benares, the ancient Seat of Learning, clustered about with a thousand sacred associations? Here, if anywhere, should be found that religious atmosphere which seems to me so essential to the formation of character, and here, if anywhere, the genius of modern progress will be purified by the spirit of ancient culture. But it is my earnest hope that those who have done so much to bring this scheme to fruition, will not now rest upon their oars. For the moment, provision will be made by the transfer of the existing Arts, Science, and Oriental Departments of the

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Central Hindu College to the University, so that facilities for teaching these subjects may be supplied. I understand also that His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur, in addition to a lump sum grant, has promised an annual grant of Rs. 24,000, which may render possible the inauguration of the study of some special technical subject. And I accede with pleasure and pride to the request that has just been made that my name should be associated with the Chair of Technology, which it is proposed to found with that endowment. But, I trust, you will not let your ambitions be satisfied with this, but will steadily keep before you the aim of creating Colleges or Departments of Science, of Agriculture, and Commerce, and Medicine, so that the Benares Hindu University may be a place of many-sided activities prepared to equip young men for all the various walks of life that go to the constitution of modern society; able to lead their countrymen in the path of progress; skilled to achieve new conquests in the realms of science, art, industry, and social well-being, and armed with the knowledge as well as the character so essential, for the development of the abundant natural resources of India. Let it be our prayer that this stone may contain within it the germs of all that is good and beautiful and wise for the enrichment of the educational system of India, the enlightenment and happiness of her people, and the glory of God."

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After this, His Excellency went to the central Dais, amidst a shower of flowers from the little girls, and performed the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone, which had the following inscriptions on it :—



काशीविश्वविद्यालयः ।

माघे शुक्ले प्रतिपदि तिथौ शुक्रवारे शिलाया
न्यासं काश्यां ह्यगनवमहीसम्मिते विक्रमाब्दे ।
प्राञ्चं धर्मं परिफलयितुं विश्वविद्यालयस्या-
कार्षीत् सम्राट्प्रतिनिधिवरो लार्डहार्डिङ् सुकीर्त्तिः ॥

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

THIS FOUNDATION-STONE WAS LAID
BY H. E. THE RIGHT HONORABLE
CHARLES BARON HARDINGE OF
PENSHURST,

P.C., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E.,
G.C.V.O., I.S.O.,

VICEROY & GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

FEBRUARY 4, 1916.

In a cavity, under the marble stone, is a copper box, containing current coins of the

British Government and of various Indian States, copies of the Reports of the H. U. S., that day's issue of *The Leader* and *The Pioneer*, and a large copper-plate with the following inscription :—

ॐ

काशीविश्वविद्यालस्य

ताम्रपत्रलेखः ।

ॐ

धर्मं सनातनं वीक्ष्य कालवेगेन पीडितम् ।
 भूतले दुर्व्यवस्थं च व्याकुलं मानवं कुलम् ॥
 कलेः पञ्चसहस्राब्दे गते भारतभूमिषु ।
 आरोपयितुमुद्धारबीजमस्य पुनर्नवम् ॥
 काशीक्षेत्रे पवित्रेऽत्र गंगातीरे महोदया ।
 शुभेच्छा पुण्यसंपन्ना संजाता जगदात्मनः ।
 संगमय्याथ पाश्चात्याः प्राच्याश्चापि प्रजा निजाः ।
 तच्छ्रेष्ठानां विधायैकमर्थं सुमतिलक्षणम् ॥
 विश्वनाथपुरे विश्वजनीने विश्वभावनः ।
 विश्वात्माऽऽकारयद्विश्वविद्यापीठव्यवस्थितिम् ॥
 निमित्तमात्रमत्राभूत् समीहायाः परेशितुः ।
 मालवीयो देशभक्तो विप्रो मदनमोहनः ॥
 निधाय वाङ्मयं तेजस्तस्मिन्नुद्बोध्य भारतम् ।
 प्रह्वीकृत्यापि तच्छास्त्रं तस्मिन्नर्थे व्यधात्प्रभुः ॥

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अन्ये चापि निमित्तानि प्राभवन्नन्तरात्मनः ।
बीकानेरनृपो वीरो गंगासिंहे महामनाः ॥
श्रीरमेश्वरसिंहश्च दरभंगामहीपतिः ।
प्रधानः कार्यकारिण्याः सभाया मानवर्धनः ॥
सुधीः सुन्दरलालश्च मन्त्री कोषाभिरत्नकः ।
गुरुदासादित्यरामौ वासन्ती वाग्मिनी तथा ॥
तथा रासविहारी च वृद्धा ये देशवत्सलाः ।
दासाश्चान्ये भगवतो यथाशक्यं सिषेविरे ॥
विकटोरियामहाराज्ञाः पौत्र एड्वर्डदेहजे ।
सम्राजि पंचमे ज्याजै भारतं परिशासति ॥
मेवारकाशिकाश्मीरमयसूरावराधिपान् ।
कोटाजयपुरेन्दौरजोधपूरादिभूमिपान् ॥
तथा कपूरथलानाभागवालेरादिनरेश्वरान् ।
ईरयित्वा सहायार्थं सज्जनानपरांस्तथा ॥
गर्भस्थ सर्वधर्माणां रक्षायै प्रचयाय च ।
प्रसाराय स्वलीलानां स एवैकः परः प्रभुः ॥
लार्डहार्डिङ्ग सुविख्यातं सम्राट्प्रतिनिधिं वरम् ।
धीरं वीरं प्रजाबन्धुं जनानां हृदयंगमम् ॥
विश्वविद्यालयस्यास्य शिलान्यासे न्ययोजयत् ॥
संप्राप्ते नेत्रभूभृद्ग्रहधरणिमिते वैक्रमेऽब्दे च मासे ।
माघे पक्षे च शुक्ले प्रतिपदि च तिथा वह्नि शुक्ले क्षणेऽच्छे ।
श्रीकाश्यां श्रीलसम्राट्प्रतिनिधिकरतो यच्छिलान्यास आसीद्
यावच्चन्द्रार्कतारं विलसतु स महाविश्वविद्यालयोऽयम् ॥

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सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महियताम्
ततः स्नुता ज्ञानसुधा निपीयताम् ।
सदा मतिः शुभचरिते विधीयताम्
रतिः परा परमगुरौ प्रचीयताम् ॥



The following is the English translation of the inscription :—

“The Universal Spirit beheld the Ancient Law of Righteous Living oppressed and cast into disorder by the rush of Time, and the Family of the Children of Manu, dwelling on this Earth, disorganized and unsettled, when five thousand years of the age of Kali had passed over the land of Bhārata-varṣha.

“Then Blessed Mercy arose in the Supreme Mind, and Auspicious Will, from which emanate great glories, to plant anew the seed of renovation of that Ancient Law and Organization in the holy soil of Kāshī, on the banks of the sacred stream of Gangā.

“And the Creator and Benefactor of the World, the Universal Soul moving in all, brought together His Children of the East and of the West, and induced their minds to that unanimity which meaneth good and right understanding, and directed them to raise this

THE FOUNDATION CEREMONY

Home of Universal Learning in the Capital
Town of the Lord of the Universe.

“The prime instrument of the Divine Will in this work was the Malaviya Brāhmaṇa, Madana Mohana, lover of his motherland. Unto him the Lord gave the gift of Speech, and awakened India with his voice, and induced the leaders and the rulers of the people unto this end.

“And other instruments also the Supreme fashioned for His purpose—the high-minded and valiant Gangā Sinha, Ruler of Bikaner; the noble Rameshvara Sinha, lord of the lands of Darbhanga, the President of the Assembly of Workers and bringer to it of honour; the wise counsellor, Sundar Lal, learned in the law, the storer of the treasures and the keeper of the secrets; and sages like Guru Dāsa and Rāsa Vihārī and Āḍitya Rāma, and also the lady Vāsantī of the silver tongue, Elders of the land, full of tenderness for the younger generation. And other Servants of the Lord served in many ways.

“And so in the time when George V, son of Edward VII, and grandson of the Great Queen Victoria was Overlord of the land of Bhāraṭa, the Supreme Spirit moved the Rulers of Mewār, Kāshi, Kāshmir, Mysore, Alwar, Kota, Jaipur, Indore, Jodhpur, Kapurthala, Nābhā,

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Gwalior, and many other good-hearted men, of noble and gentle birth, and of high and low degree, to help in the work of preserving the vital Seed of all Religions, for future great growth and development anew, and for the enactment of the Dramas of ever new Civilizations which infinitesimally express His boundless Glories. And He inspired the Emperor George's excellent, great-souled and courageous Viceregent in India, Lord Hardinge, a true Elder of the people, and dear to their hearts, to lay the Foundation of this Home of all Learning.

"At an auspicious moment, near noon, on Friday, the 1st day of the Light-half of Māgha, in the Vikrama Year 1972, this Foundation is laid by the hand of the good-hearted Viceroy of the King; may this Institution prosper, therefore, and grow and increase while the Sun, Moon and Stars shine and circle in the heavens.

"May Sarasvatî incarnate in the Shruṭi-Heart of Wisdom, ever bloom and shine with worship from her human children; may they ever assiduously imbibe the vital milk of knowledge flowing from her sweet breasts of Science and Philosophy; may all minds turn to acts of good alone; and may all hearts be filled with Love of the Supreme!"

AMEN! AUM!

THE FOUNDATION CEREMONY

When His Excellency had returned to his seat, six Pandits chanted the Shāntipāṭha, calling down the blessings of the gods and praying for the successful accomplishment of the undertaking. The Maharaja of Bikaner then read a short address of thanks to the Viceroy, and the Maharaja of Jodhpur garlanded him, after which the Viceregal party left the amphitheatre, proceeding to Ramnagar, where the Maharaja of Benares entertained them at luncheon along with many distinguished guests. During the days following, many lectures of extreme interest were delivered at the Central Hindu College, in connection with this unique function, cricket matches were played and various other activities carried out.

CHAPTER VIII.

Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior's Address at the First Court Meeting.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

"While sensible of the high honour which the Government have done me at your suggestion in electing me as the first Pro-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, I deeply regret that my valued friend and brother-Prince, the Maharaja of Mysore, is not here to preside as our Chancellor at this first meeting of the University Court. I have watched with great interest the progress of the movement which, through the sympathy and generosity of the British Government, has culminated in a full-fledged University. Our heart-felt thanks are due to the Government of Lord Hardinge for their enlightened encouragement of the cause of Indian Education. Much controversy has raged round the question, whether a denominational or sectarian University would or would not be beneficial to the cause of Indian Education. There are not a few who sincerely hold that a University of the character of the Benares University is of doubtful advantage. While fully comprehending their point of view, I need hardly tell



H. H. THE MAHARAJA SCINDIA,
First Pro-Chancellor.

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you that I myself have no such apprehensions. In the main, the character and results of any movement depend upon the spirit that animates the workers; the question is whether the spirit is one of competition or of co-operation. The teachings of the latter half of the nineteenth century unhappily, not corrected by the teaching of religion, engendered an unhealthy spirit of competition resulting in rivalry and a desire for domination, the result of which we see to-day in the hideous and devastating war that is convulsing entire Continents. Let us hope that the issue of this war will be to exercise for ever the ugly spectres of competition, rivalry and domination.

"Gentlemen, I am sure that it is not the spirit of competition that is the motive force of your undertaking. Your watchword is co-operation, so I have no fear that our University will confer anything but unmixed good upon the country.

"I am specially pleased to note that one of your cardinal principles is to train and bring up the alumni of the University in Religion. For all true religion is based on the belief in the one Supreme Being, the Almighty God. And the essence of all morality founded upon such a Faith is charity and goodwill towards all. This is the spirit of co-operation in its highest form. There are some people, I am

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fully aware, who doubt whether the teaching of Faith, side by side with Science, can be productive of good results. This assumes that, if religion and science are not antagonistic, they are at least incompatible. But, happily, signs are not wanting that the attitude of Science towards Religion is undergoing a great change: I think this was inevitable. All science teaches that, many things which seem unconnected and isolated, have some common principle running through them all, and that particular laws are comprised in more general laws. A day may come, and with the blessing of God it will come, when the Supreme Law, permeating all and enveloping all, will stand revealed to the Intellect of man. When that happy consummation arrives, man will *know* what he now *believes* what the intellect is striving to discover, and will go on struggling to pursue, till it reaches that goal which to Faith was vouchsafed long ago. The mists are giving place to light; dim it may be—but the coming dawn is breaking on the horizon, and the future gives promise of the hope that Religion and Science will work together for the ultimate salvation of Humanity.

“To turn to your Charter, I notice with genuine pleasure that the purposes for which the University has been incorporated are truly comprehensive, and to me it is a peculiar satisfaction that Agricultural and Industrial

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Education find among them a prominent place. I hope that an early opportunity will be found to establish chairs for the scientific teaching of those subjects.

“Gentlemen, for a long time to come, agriculture must be the main industry of our country. The chief source of prosperity in any measurable future will be the scientific development of the products of the land. If we can improve the output of land in quantity as well as in quality, we shall help to enrich the country proportionately. But we should not lose sight of the fact that eighty per cent of our manufactured requirements are supplied from outside. It does not speak well for our economics that much of our raw products is exported and again re-imported in manufactured shape for our consumption. Surely, this is an undesirable state of things which we should exert ourselves to end. This world-wide war gave us a great opportunity, but unfortunately we have failed to take it. We lack the knowledge and organisation essential to successful industry. These are the defects from which we suffer, and I am confident that the University will be able to devise means to remove them and to give a sure impulse to that era of well-being for our country which we so ardently desire.

“There is one subject which is uppermost

in my mind and which I cannot too strongly impress upon the promoters of the University movement. Pray do not misunderstand me. Not for a moment do I mean to imply that the authorities of this University are not alive to the importance of the point. The point I refer to is that the young men, who are going to receive their training at this University in increasing numbers every year, should be inspired by a strong sense of fellow-feeling for members of all the other communities, and especially for the great sister community of the Muhammedans. Let them feel that they are Indians first and anything else afterwards. Believe me that most of our troubles and difficulties result from the lack of unity and organization. Let us realize that we all live in one country, divided by no insuperable barriers, but, on the contrary, by nothing more than unsubstantial boundaries admitting of easy intercourse, so that what affects the one must affect the others. The true salvation of the country lies in the well-being and progress of all its component parts. Any one who is short-sighted enough to suppose that it is a good thing for one community to steal a march on another can only be infected by that unhealthy spirit of competition to which I have already referred.

“Gentlemen, the Hindu Religion is one of the most tolerant in the world. By refusing

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to make converts it has proclaimed to the world the principle of live and let live. It is the negation of aggression. From toleration to active friendship there is but one step, and while we have adhered firmly to our own great and ancient Faith, we have always shown respects for other Faiths. It is your self-respecting man who has the greatest regard for others.

“Gentlemen, the existing universities in India have been modelled on the University of London. Their function has been merely to courses of study, hold examinations and confer degrees. In the peculiar condition of the country and of the time, it seems to me that that was bound to happen. The education of a vast continent like India, on western lines, was the question before the Government of the day. In their generous zeal to uplift and to bring us all into line socially, economically and politically with Europe, the British Government desired to give India the benefits of Western Education. Proud as we rightly are of our great past and of the achievements of our ancestors, it cannot be denied by those, whose judgment is not obscured by ignorance or clouded by prejudice, that for centuries past we have not only been not progressing, but retrogressing. For, in Nature, there is no such thing as standing still; we must either go forward or go backward. The people of

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the West took up the thread of progress where our ancestors had left it and made enormous strides towards discovering the laws of Nature. They have built up a great store-house of knowledge, the key of which is one of the principal Western languages. When the question of educating India arose, the problem was, whether the medium of imparting education should be English or the Indian languages. All that is a matter of history, and I need not dilate upon it. Happily and wisely the decision was in favour of English. Those, who can reflect a little and penetrate below the surface, will have no difficulty in realising and appreciating the true aims of the British people in governing India. It passes my comprehension how any person, with a right to be heard, can say that the policy of the British Government is to divide and rule and to keep India in a state of perpetual dependence. History abounds in cases where the desire of a dominant class has been to keep the others in a state of perpetual tutelage; the measures they adopted were not directed towards restricting wealth or power, but to enslaving the Intellect. The reason is obvious. It is the emancipation of the Intellect that is the basis of every other emancipation—moral, social, economical and political. Therefore I say plainly, let us, people of India, be sincerely grateful to the people of England for having placed within our reach the untold blessings

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of Western Science and Literature. It is in the interests of India herself that she should be firmly loyal to Britain and that the bonds of union between them should draw them more closely and firmly together.

"Gentlemen, it would be idle to deny the great good that the existing Universities have done in India. In spite of apparent and inevitable defects, they have rendered great service to the country. It has, however, been recognised that education, properly so called, does not consist merely in book-learning and the time has come when India needs something more. The development of the Intellect and the building up of character must proceed hand in hand and at a time of the student's life when he is most susceptible to influences. It is not the memorising of text-books, but the contact of mind with mind that develops the critical faculty and the power of independent thought which is the essence of true Education. We, who know the methods of existing Indian Colleges, cannot help contrasting them with those of the great Universities of the west. Most of the Professors in Oxford and Cambridge are men whose books are standard works. The Indian teacher is usually a dogmatic preceptor, whose words are to be taken as oracular; whereas an Oxford or Cambridge Professor, lecturing on the subject of which he is a recognised master, does not arrogate to

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himself any supernatural authority, but in imparting information is merely a guide and helper, a fellow searcher after truth with his students. Besides, the life of the students and the professors is not entirely separate outside the lecture-room. They live in close association within the quadrangles of colleges, and so a gentle but effective influence is exerted upon the life, manners and thoughts of the students. Thus they get that polish and tone which distinguish the English University man. Gentlemen, in all this there is surely nothing foreign to our traditions or our notions of the relation that should subsist between the teacher and the taught. We have regarded the relation akin to that of father and son, and in the old seminaries of learning, preceptors and their pupils lived together in the closest of ties, and the *chelas* not only benefited by the teaching of their *gurus* but absorbed much of their character and manners by the slow yet sure process of close and intimate association.

“India is no longer isolated nor a closed book to the rest of the world. She has to take her place among the civilised and progressive countries of the Earth. Signs are not wanting that, as time goes on, with the blessing of God, there will come greater and closer union between Indians and Englishmen, not only politically, but commercially, and, I trust and

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believe, also socially. In social intercourse, manners count for a great deal; and I trust the men who will be turned out by this University will be not only clever, but so well-mannered and so particular as to personal habits as to be a delight and ornament to any Society.

“If I may venture upon a word of advice, it is that quality should not be sacrificed to quantity; so that the degrees of the Benares University, in the fulness of time, will become the hall-mark of all that is best in man. May the students who pass out of its portals be God-fearing and God-loving, and consequently imbued with love of their fellow-beings; true to the Government, inspired by reasoned loyalty—loyalty which is founded upon the assured conviction that the connection of India with England is Providential and that in strengthening the bonds of that connection lies the true salvation of India; seeking their own good in the general good of the country; and bearing the torch of virtue and knowledge wherever they go. We want men of constructive genius who will build up the edifice of India's moral and material well-being.

“Gentlemen, we have not all been endowed alike, but whatever has been dealt out to us, let us use to the best advantage in promoting the general well-being. Believe me, the highest wisdom consists in the highest goodness.

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“CHARACTER-INDUSTRY-INTEGRITY,—these are the cards to win the game of life. These will prove trumps every time before the game is ended. We cannot escape from our share in the game; we cannot be mere on-lookers. For good or evil, we are all here to play the game. How shall we do it? Shall we, if we think our hand a poor one, throw down our cards and make no effort to win? Surely not: that is the *coward's* way. Let us play it out in true sportsmanlike manner, making the best of every chance we get; doing always what is right, even if it seems the losing game; despising all that is wrong or mean, even though it would win the trick, making the most of our hands, knowing that, win or lose, we shall have done our best, and that ‘as in a game of cards, so in the game of life, we must play what is dealt out to us, and the glory consists, not so much in winning, as in playing a poor hand well.’”

Sir Sundarlal's Statement

Sir Sundarlal, the Vice-Chancellor, then made the following statement :—

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,

“By the grace of the Supreme Power, the source of all blessings, we meet to-day for the first time as a body constituted under an Act of the Legislature—the Benares Hindu University Act No. XVI of 1915,—to further the establishment of an institution which is destined, I believe, to play an important part in the educational progress of India in general and in promoting the highest intellectual and spiritual advancement of Hindu youths in particular. We have every reason to congratulate ourselves and our community on this event. It seems it was but yesterday that the idea of starting a Hindu University at Benares was first put forward in this ancient seat of religion and learning. While there was much in the proposal to appeal to the minds of Hindus, there were few men so optimistic as to believe that the idea could be realized, at any rate, in the near future. The proposal seemed so ambitious. The Hindu community was so poorly organized. The workers were so few. For several years, when, with the faith and persistence which is the secret of success in all great undertakings, the idea was being worked up, there were many who looked

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upon it as entirely chimerical. But a few years of earnest and devoted efforts have materialized the scheme, secured for it the necessary financial support, and legislative sanction, and brought the University into existence. At this moment, when we meet for the first time as a University, our hearts must go forth in gratitude to those whose co-operation and support have contributed to this happy result. Where many have laboured, it will be invidious to single out a few for special mention, but, I am sure, I shall be failing in my duty, as your spokesman, if I do not express our special obligations, in the first instance, to Mrs. Annie Besant and the other Trustees of the Central Hindu College for their generous co-operation with us in establishing the University, and to the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., of Darbhanga, for all the help he has given to the University and for the extensive tours which he so often has made at much personal sacrifice. It is scarcely necessary for me to mention the one other name that must occur to you all in this connection, for the name of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is inseparably connected with the Hindu University and will live long in the memory of grateful posterity. It is also my pleasing duty to express our gratitude here to the Government of India and to the Rulers of Indian States who have so generously extended their patronage and support



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FIRST VICE-CHANCELLOR

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to the scheme. Nor are we less grateful to the large number of donors who have each, according to their means, contributed to the funds of the University. We are deeply grateful to His Highness the Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narayan Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., of Benares, for the encouragement and support, which His Highness has given to the scheme of the University from its very inception. We particularly wish to place on record our gratitude to His Highness for the generosity with which, of his own motion, he invited all his brother Ruling Princes and His Excellency the Viceroy and the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, who are *ex-officio* Patrons of the University, and other distinguished guests to accept his hospitality and contributed in large measure by his munificence to make the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone, the happy and brilliant function that it was. The expression of our thankfulness will be incomplete if I omitted to acknowledge our obligations to our late Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, and to the late Member for Education—the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler. It is but bare truth to say that without their help, we would not have been able to achieve the success which we have gained. We are also greatly indebted to His Honor, Sir James Meston, for the very kindly interest he has taken in the movement and the valuable advice and help with which he has been assisting us in our arduous work.

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“As we have met to deliberate upon and determine the measures necessary to complete the constitution of this University and to carry out its work, you will naturally expect me to make a statement regarding the present position and prospects of the University. I will deal first with its financial position. You will be glad to learn that the total sum promised for the University, including the valuation of the annuities, granted by the Rulers of Indian States, amounts to Rs. 96,52,496. Of this sum, including the valuation of the annuities, Rs. 59,87,020 has been realised up to this day. Excluding schools, offices or other bodies who have paid in their collective subscriptions under one single name, this amount has been collected from twenty-three thousand four hundred and twenty-nine subscribers, of whom five hundred and fifty-five persons have each paid a sum of Rs. 500 or more. Their names are set out in the printed roll which it will be my pleasing duty to-day to lay on the table. A glance at it will show how generous has been the support and how valuable the help, which the movement has received both from the Princes and the people of India. It is pleasing to note that among the subscribers there are Mahomedan and European and Parsi gentlemen also. The great bulk of the donors, however, are men and women of humble means, who had contributed their mite—from a few annas to a few rupees—whose names it would have given me much

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pleasure to recite had time permitted me to do so. They fill several volumes, which will ever remain among the most precious records of the University. In addition to all this, the Government of India has been pleased to make a recurring grant of a lakh of Rupees a year, the capitalised value of which, at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, comes to over 28 lakhs. This is the capital with which the new University starts on its career. I have prepared, in rough outline, a statement of the probable estimated income and expenditure of the University, which will be submitted to the Council you will appoint to-day, to serve as the basis of discussion.

“We have to elect to-day the various classes of elective members of the Court to complete its constitution. The first of these, in Class III of Statute 14, sub-clause (a), are persons to be elected by the registered graduates of the University. There can be no election under this sub-clause until the University comes to have graduates of its own in a sufficient number. Under sub-clause (b), thirty persons are to be elected by registered donors who have paid Rs. 500 or upwards. Draft rules for regulating their election are now on the table for your consideration. Under sub-clause (c), ten persons are to be elected by the Senate. The Senate, however, will be constituted on a later date, and, in the meantime, under the special provision of the Act, it

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is my pleasing privilege, as your Vice-Chancellor, to appoint under this sub-clause ten persons with the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council. The names of nine gentlemen so appointed are before you. The remaining appointment will be made very soon. The names of thirteen out of the fifteen representatives of Hindu religion and Sanskrit learning are also on the paper before you and will be proposed in due course for election.

“Of the representatives of Jain and Sikh communities, five may be elected to represent the Jain and five the Sikh community. The Jain community is, broadly speaking, divided into three sections—the Swetambars, the Digambars and the Sthanakvasis. The Sthanakvasis are smaller in number, and, therefore, one seat is assigned to them. The other two have each two seats. The names which will be proposed for election have been selected in consultation with some of the leading members of the Jain community. The names of the five representatives of the Sikh community have been selected after consulting the leading Sikh Princes, who have patronised the movement, and some prominent Sikh gentlemen.

“We have also to elect ten representatives of the learned professions. The names of the ten gentlemen, which are on the paper will be proposed in due course for election. Finally,

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there remain twenty other persons to be elected by the Court. Among these there are ten representatives of the old Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College whom we are bound, both by gratitude and agreement to have on the supreme governing body of the University. Among the remaining ten proposed for election, are other gentlemen, who have taken much interest in and contributed materially to the success of the movement. It is but fitting that we should show our appreciation of their valuable co-operation. I regret very much that the number of seats available for election is so limited that we are unable to elect, at present, a number of our other fellow-workers whose co-operation has been no less valuable.

The other proposals for elections, which are shown in the agenda, are those for the Council and other bodies for which, under the Statutes, we must make our elections to-day.

We also propose to request you to pass certain additional Statutes which are immediately necessary for carrying on the work of the University. They include certain temporary Statutes which must be passed to-day to enable us to complete our constitution. It will be well to appoint a sub-committee also which may frame and propose such other Statutes as may be found to be necessary. We shall ask you to pass only such Statutes to-day as are emergent.

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"I now pass on to another important matter. It is noticeable that no Regulations are appended to the Act. A committee of the Hindu University Society prepared a draft of the Regulations required and submitted it to the Government of India for consideration. The Hindu University Society also appointed a Sub-committee consisting of the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, G. C. I. E., Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Adityaram Bhattacharya, Babu Bhagwandas, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and myself, with Sir Gurudas Banerjee as adviser, to confer with the Government of India and to settle the Regulations. In the summer of 1915, this Committee met the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill, then Acting Member for Education, and the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, then Secretary in the Education Department to the Government of India. The Committee sat for about three weeks at Simla and carefully considered and revised the draft Regulations. There were certain points which, in the opinion of our Sub committee, required further consideration at the hands of the Government of India. The Hon'ble the Visitor had also to be consulted. The Regulations therefore were not finally settled. Now, section 18 of the Act provides that the first Regulations "shall be framed as directed by the Governor-General in Council" and that, to be valid, they must receive his previous

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approval. A committee consisting of the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair, the Member for Education, the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, the Education Commissioner, the Hon'ble Sir Edward Maclagan, Secretary to the Government of India in the Education Department, the Hon'ble Mr. O'Donnell as the representative of the Hon'ble the Visitor, and myself, met informally at Simla in the first week of this month. The Committee carefully considered the various points brought forward, and the matter is, I understand, receiving the consideration of the Government of India. I have every confidence that our suggestions will receive kind and sympathetic consideration at the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, who is the Lord Rector of our University; and I hope that the Regulations in their final shape will be published at no distant date.

“Gentlemen, we begin to-day in an humble way; but the task that lies before us is both great and arduous. The funds that we have collected have enabled us to provide the permanent minimum endowment of fifty lakhs which we are required by the Act to provide for the recurring expenditure of the University. We have also money in hand to pay for the site, which is being acquired for us. But the many educational and residential buildings, which it is absolutely necessary for us to erect in the immediate future, will cost at the lowest

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computation a sum of thirty six lakhs. And we have only a fraction of this amount in our hands. Besides this sum, we stand in need of a great deal more of money in order to develop what is called the modern side of University education. For you know, our aim is to combine the old and new ideals of a University, that is, to build up a University which will not merely promote literary and philosophical studies, but will also provide instruction and training in the more fruitful applications of science to industries, both agricultural and manufacturing. And the liberal help which the Princes and people of India have extended to the University in the past encourages the hope that we shall receive the necessary support in future—the support which will put us in a position to build up—at no distant date—an institution which will be a source of strength and pride to the great and ancient community with the name of which it is associated.





MAHARAJA OF MYSORE,
FIRST CHANCELLOR

CHAPTER IX

The First Convocation

The first convocation for conferring degrees was held on the 19th January, 1919. The first Chancellor, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore graced the occasion with his presence and delivered the following address :—

Your Highness, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I esteem it a high privilege to preside at the first Convocation of this University in the presence of such a distinguished gathering. Although the distance of Benares from my own territories does not permit my visiting the University as often as I could wish, or associating myself very closely with its affairs, yet, believe me, I shall always take the deepest interest in its welfare and shall recall with gratification the great honour which the University authorities have paid to me in selecting me as their first Chancellor.

The history of the Benares University illustrates the unwearying courage of the leaders of the movement, their capacity for sustained effort, their co-operation and their powers of organisation. To-day we may recall with pride and gratitude the pioneer work of the illustrious promoters of the Hindu University movement—His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who

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has dedicated his fine talents to the service of this institution and to whose devotion and untiring labours the scheme mainly owes its inauguration, Mrs. Besant and the other trustees of the Central Hindu College, who placed at our disposal a fully organised College which enabled us to make an early start, their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Kashmir and Bikanir, and others whose services will ever live in the memory of our people.

Of the many important measures which distinguish the viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge, not the least in its beneficent and far-reaching effects is the Benares Hindu University Act of 1915, by which the Government of India, under his inspiration and guidance, set the seal of its approval upon one of the greatest popular educational movements of the times. Lord Hardinge thus earned the eternal gratitude of the Hindus by generously permitting the establishment of an institution upon which the entire community had set its heart, and I have no doubt that the foundation of the University was well and truly laid by the hands of one who sympathised so deeply with Indian needs and aspirations. Nor should I omit, on this occasion, to acknowledge with gratitude the conspicuous services rendered to our cause by Sir Harcourt Butler, who was Educational Member of the Government of India at the time when the Act was passed

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and who still maintains a keen interest in the affairs of the University. I grieve to think that this young University has suffered so early in its career, two serious bereavements—one by the death of Sir Sundar Lal, its first Vice-Chancellor, to whose untiring exertions it owes much of its initial success and the second, by the death of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur, whose princely munificence enabled it to proceed with the organisation of the important department of Technology. There is not one of us here, who does not feel that this occasion has been saddened by the absence from our midst of these two notable benefactors.

After many vicissitudes and many years of toil, we are assembled here to-day to gather the first fruits of our labours, and this important event in the history of our University comes happily at a time when the most terrible War that the world has ever seen, is at an end. We rejoice on such an occasion to congratulate His Majesty the King-Emperor and the British Nation on the decisive victory of the British Empire and its Allies. The War has demonstrated the greatness of the British character, no less than the deep-rooted loyalty of the Princes and people of India to the British connection. May we hope that the outlook of the human race is changing and that a new era is dawning on a world saddened by the

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tears and sacrifices of many nations—an era of the reign of right as opposed to might, of principle as opposed to expediency, and of peace as opposed to aggression.

Though, as the recent War has shown us, it does not necessarily follow that every increase of knowledge is accompanied by a betterment of conduct, still, the doctrine that knowledge is virtue, is one to which our Vedanta gives support when it attributes sin and downfall to “Avidya” or ignorance and sees in “Vidya” or Enlightenment the liberation and perfection of the soul. Therefore, centres of culture like this University have a noble purpose to serve and can contribute materially to the enlargement of human ideals and to the promotion of interracial and international fellowship. But they can achieve this end only if their outlook is as wide as humanity itself.

This University is the most striking manifestation of India’s effort at self-determination and self-expression. It is, or it ought to be, the embodiment of the very soul of Hindu India, her noble traditions, elevating impulses, and devotional culture. It is the first private University in the country as contrasted with Government Foundations and it has, for that reason, possibilities of freedom and self-development peculiarly its own. Along with the project for the Aligarh University, which I

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sincerely trust will soon be an accomplished fact, it has done much to quicken the confidence of Indians in their capacity to take independent charge of education in all its grades and is entitled, in no small degree, to the credit of having ushered in a new epoch in the history of higher education in India—an epoch marked by the foundation of compact unitary Universities of the teaching and residential type, organised and administered by Indians and adjusted, in varying degrees of completeness, to the special conditions, requirements and aspirations of Indians.

In all our future efforts, however, we should always bear in mind the noble ideal which was set forth in the Address presented to Lord Hardinge, on the occasion of the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Hindu University, that, in order to preserve and promote our distinctive civilization and culture and to instruct our youth in the sacred precepts of religion, it was necessary to build up an ideal University which would seek to combine the practical efficiency of the modern system of education with the high spiritual ideals of ancient India. Especially should we, Hindus, with our glorious past, beware of the temptation to confuse patriotism with blind adoration of ancient days, coupled with a feeling of repugnance for everything modern and foreign. No nation is impoverished by

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commerce with other nations ; no civilization can suffer by intercourse with other civilizations, and by an intelligent assimilation of the principles, ideas and practices that have proved to be beneficial to other peoples and countries. I trust therefore that the Benares University will gather the fruit of all ages and countries, will keep abreast of modern progress and will bring up her children to become healthy and strong and well-fitted to remould the destinies of India on sane, yet progressive, lines.

The very location of this University in the ancient sacred capital of Hindu India, which has maintained unshaken its spiritual sway through all changes of history, constitutes an inspiration, both remarkable and unique. There is a magic and enchantment about the very name Benares which thrills the hearts and fires the imagination, setting in motion a long train of ennobling patriotic and spiritual memories. Such sentiments should not, however, be developed to the prejudice of a liberal culture which sets its face against sectarian strife and jealousy while keeping its individuality. The Benares University should develop such a culture in its widest sense as the embodiment of a New and United India, and should aim at a definite preparation for citizenship in the largest sense of the term as one of the principal objects to be pursued. This will include moral education or training

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of character. I understand that in America, where the problem of fusing a variety of peoples into a common nationality, is as urgent, though perhaps not so difficult, as in India, education in citizenship, patriotism and loyalty to the constitution have been included amongst the objectives of the school system. The cultivation of the ethics of citizenship and patriotism is specially needed in India where clan, tribe and caste have had a deplorable tendency to produce communal exclusiveness and differences. I trust that the compulsory education in Hindu religion and morals, which is a feature of this University, will result in the promotion of a liberal culture of the type contemplated above.

Besides, we have to bear another factor in mind. The modern age is characterised by the knowledge and cultivation of the physical sciences and by their increasing application to the methods of economic life. Scientific knowledge and economic progress go hand in hand and form the very foundations of national life, and unless we achieve both, we are bound to fall behind in the march of progress. This University should, therefore, address itself to the development of its modern side by organising such practical Faculties as those of Technology, Applied Chemistry, Agriculture and Commerce, so that trained talent may be available in the country for the

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development of its vast and varied material resources. Let the University turn out a new type of learned men who will be fit to be the captains of our Commerce and Industry, leading the country along the paths of a sound economic advance and winning for her a leading place in the international industrial struggle.

There are some people who think that India is becoming over-educated, and who point to the large number of students seeking admission into the different Universities and to the glut that there is in the market for their services as reasons for their belief, but compared with foreign countries, the number of people who have any education in India is deplorably small, those possessing higher education is smaller still, and there seems to me to be no justification for regretting an increase in the number of our graduates. But all the same, there must be some good reason somewhere for the distrust and suspicion with which the overflowing of schools and colleges is looked upon by some friendly critics. I venture to suggest that the real trouble is not over-education but mis-education, by which I mean the giving of the wrong kind of education. Doubtless, in early days the necessities of Government Service had a predominant influence in determining the extent and character of the education given in India, and

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the evil complained of, *viz.*, mis-education, is due to the instance on a type of education which is no longer suited to our conditions, which has been outgrown in most other countries and which requires to be altered in accordance with the large conceptions of education now prevailing. One of the inevitable results of this policy is the fetish which is still made of Government Service which is the "be all" and "end all" of a majority of the graduates who leave our Universities. It looks a simple truism to say that popular education intended for a limited purpose or for a limited class, but it is the neglect of this truism that must be held to be responsible for one unsatisfactory aspect of education in India. The more popular a system of education is, the more thorough should be its impregnation with the industrial spirit, which will also have the further effect of giving the precept regarding the dignity of labour more reality than it has possessed so far in India.

It is gratifying to find that the Benares University has already recognised the importance of Technology, and has made preparations for the formation of a Faculty in this subject. In this connection, we may gratefully acknowledge the princely donation which has been given by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in aid of the Department of Technology. I trust that the steps taken to establish the

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Faculties of Agriculture and of Technology will soon lead to tangible results. This country will, I am sure, realise that to equip and conduct a Technological Faculty on up-to-date lines, keeping pace with the improvements in the mechanical arts and sciences that are effected almost day by day, will cost a great deal of money and that it will not be possible to carry on operations successfully unless the funds at the disposal of the University for this purpose are vastly increased.

I would like to say a few words to the new graduates and especially those who are about to leave the University. I would impress on you, in the first place, the importance of discipline in schools and colleges and of self-discipline in after-life. There is no walk in life which the observance of discipline is not essential to success. No army can fight without it, no athletic team can succeed in which discipline is not observed, no Government administration or business firm can "carry on" unless those members of it, whose duty it is to obey, submit themselves loyally to their leaders and so learn in time to command others.

Finally, I would impress on you that you should endeavour to combine in your lives a real sense of religion with true culture; to believe that you owe a duty to God and to your fellow-men, and to aim at faith without

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fanaticism, deference without weakness, politeness without insincerity, and above all, integrity of character in thought, word and deed. The ideal is a high one, but you can at least try and live up to it. But even this is not enough. The country needs something more virile than the accomplished gentleman. It needs men of enthusiasm, even more than refined intellectuals pursuing the easy path of worldly wisdom, worldly compromise and worldly success. It needs men of stout hearts and strong hands who will not allow their conscience to be drugged by sophistry of any kind, or their nerve to be paralysed by the fear of unpopularity, but will oppose wrong whenever found and fight unflinchingly the battle of social justice and emancipation, on behalf of the weak and down-trodden. Like the Gurukula at Haridwar, every Indian University should aim at sending forth men filled with intense passion for service, and with zeal burning in their hearts. Indian Universities will be judged by two standards, firstly, by their contribution to discovery, invention and the expansion of the field of science and art; and, secondly, by the number and the quality of the men whom they send forth, filled with a genuine devotion to the good of India and to the service of their fellow-countrymen of all grades and ranks, irrespective of caste and creed. I have every confidence that the Benares University, itself the child of patriotic labour and sacrifice, and the inheritor

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of the highest traditions of a spiritual people, will be able to satisfy both these tests and will take a foremost place amongst the influences that make for light and leading in our ancient and beloved Motherland.

It is my earnest hope—a hope which I know will be echoed by millions of my countrymen—that the Benares University may not only be an object of special veneration and solicitude to the Hindus, but may also attract, by the quality of its secular education, young of all religious persuasions in India. The institution should be Indian first and Hindu afterwards. The graduates who receive their degrees to-day are a handful, but their number is destined to grow. I look forward to the day when young men from all parts of India will fill these lecture halls and after completing their education will go out skilled and capable, and equipped both mentally, morally, and physically to fight life's battles as citizens of this great country. If wisely guided, the University should in due course become a truly national institution of which every Indian, whatever his race or creed, might be justly proud.



SIR P S SIVASWAMI AIYER,
SECOND VICE-CHANCELIOR

Address of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer,
The Vice-Chancellor of the Benares
Hindu University.

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen—

To-day is a landmark in the history of the Hindu University movement which was initiated about 15 years ago and which, as a result of the united and strenuous efforts of its promoters, received legislative recognition from the Government of India in October 1915. The Hindu University Act came into force on the 1st of April 1916, and it was in October 1917 that the Central Hindu College was declared to be a college maintained by the University. The first examinations for the degrees of this University were held in 1918 and degrees have been conferred to-day upon the first batch of graduates of the Hindu University. On such an occasion, it is impossible to avoid a feeling of regret that some of those who laboured most hard for the creation of this University are no longer with us to rejoice at the first fruits of their labours. Prominent among such workers was the late Sir Sundar Lal, the first Vice-Chancellor of this University, who was associated with the movement from its very inception and ungrudgingly gave his time and energy to the

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organisation of the University, and with his mature judgment and wise counsel guided the first steps of the University after it came into existence. I cannot help feeling how much fitter he would have been to do justice to this occasion, with his intimate knowledge of the history of this University, of the aims and objects of those who desired and strove to bring it into existence, and of the environments and other conditions which have had a share in shaping the University and influencing its work. An equally sincere promoter of this movement, who gave us most valuable help in the early stages in the drafting of the original bill and otherwise and who, despite his advancing years, continued to take an unabated interest in our well-being, has been quite recently taken away in the person of the saintly Sir Gurudas Banerjea, who united the best culture of the west with that of the east and was an example, to his countrymen, of devotion to the cause of learning and education, of catholicity of spirit, and of spotless purity of life. We owe a tribute of reverence and gratitude to the high ideals he embodied and to the valuable services he rendered us. On behalf of the University I feel bound to express our profound feeling of thankfulness to his Highness the Chancellor for having found time, in the midst of his numerous pressing burdens of State, to grace this occasion by his presence and encourage us in the dis-

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charge of the onerous task that lies before us. It is a happy augury for the future of this University that its first Convocation should be presided over by the enlightened ruler of a model Indian State who has ever been anxious to be in the vanguard of progress and whose deep interest in education is evinced, among other things, by the inauguration of a new University in his own State and by the acceptance of the office of Chancellor in the Universities of Mysore and Benares.

The movement in favour of the multiplication of universities and the formation of universities of a new type, different from the one already established, is of recent origin in this country as it has been elsewhere. It is partly due to the feeling that the existing universities are not adequate in number to serve the interests of such a large country as ours and partly due to a feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing type. Such dissatisfaction does not imply any failure or unwillingness to recognise the good that has been done in the country by the existing universities. In spite of the changes introduced by the legislation of 1904, the universities in British India continue to be mainly examining bodies. The federal character of the universities, the width of their jurisdiction over wide areas and scattered colleges, the absence of concentration in one locality are factors, which among others, stand

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in the way of the existing universities ever becoming essentially teaching Universities. The federal type of University is not conducive to the growth of a corporate life among the constituent colleges or to the efficient performance of its true functions by a university. Let me not be understood, however, as suggesting the abolition of federal universities without anything to replace them. Until the time comes, when most of the important centres of education in the different provinces can have their own unitary universities, universities of the affiliating type will unavoidably have to be maintained. Even a federal university, with all its shortcomings, is preferable to having no university. Speaking for myself, it was a wise decision on the part of the Government of India that the Hindu University was not given power to affiliate any institutions outside the city of Benares. Apart from the dissatisfaction caused by the examining type of university, there has been a growing feeling in the country that the existing system of university education has not been sufficiently correlated to the practical needs of fast changing material and economic conditions, and has not been sufficiently alive to the necessity for the preservation of Hindu culture and ancient learning in the forcible impact of western knowledge and western culture. It was felt that the existing universities had rightly or wrongly neglected the need for religious instruction, had done

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little for the enrichment of the vernacular literature and the popularisation of western knowledge and had not sufficiently interested themselves in the promotion of higher technical and vocational education. The objects of the promoters of the Hindu University were intended to be accomplished by the creation of a teaching and residential University, by insistence upon religious instruction to Hindu students and by the entrusting of the management to a non-official body capable of quicker movement in response to public opinion and freed from some of the inevitable restrictions of state activity. The lines on which the Hindu University has been constituted give us an ample measure of freedom to enable us to satisfy all these needs and our achievement will only be limited by the funds we can secure and by the amount of co-operation and steady effort it may be possible for us to enlist in the work of the University.

The Hindu University is not intended to be a reproduction of the type of Indian universities now in existence, but to conform to the best ideals of University organization, which have been formulated. The Universities of the world have been roughly classified by an American writer according to the main functions fulfilled by them into those which aim at the discovery and advance of truth, those which aim at the development of

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character, those which aim at the making of gentlemen and the harmonious cultivation of the intellect, the heart, and the æsthetic faculty, and those which aim at efficient training for vocations. It is needless to observe that there is no antagonism between the different aims and there is no reason why they should not all be simultaneously pursued. These various aims will equally be kept in view by this University.

I have heard it said in some quarters that the Hindu University must be of a distinct type—different not merely from the Indian universities but also from the universities of the west. To a certain extent this must be conceded, in so far as the Hindu University aims, at the preservation of ancient learning and of Hindu culture, in the highest sense of the term, the provision of instruction in the essential principles of the Hindu religion and the investigation of problems peculiar to India and the application of science to Indian conditions. But in other respects, the ideals of the Hindu University must necessarily be the same as those of the best modern universities of the west. The provision of equipment and facilities for scientific research, the fearless pursuit and discovery of truth and the augmentation of the sum of human knowledge must necessarily be included among the aims of the best universities. It has been observed that the tendency of

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modern universities is towards specialization in an extremely narrow field and that it is necessary to correct this tendency by greater co-ordination among the subjects of study and by a comprehensive view of the correlations of the different sciences. The need is as much felt and emphasized by thinkers in the west as here. A synthetic view of the field of knowledge and desire to comprehend the scheme of the universe as a whole are no doubt among the characteristics of Indian culture, but it would be difficult to maintain that they have not been appreciated and emphasised by western thinkers. The organization of universities and their aims and methods have received close attention in England within the last few years and the defects of existing universities have been clearly pointed out by competent critics. In India these problems have been engaging the attention of the distinguished men who constitute the Calcutta University Commission. Pending the outcome of the protracted labours of this commission, it might be rash for a layman to venture upon a definition of the ideals and methods of universities in this country. Problems incidental to the federal type of university as such do not concern us, but we are interested in the other problems connected with the ideals of universities and the means of realising them and much light may be expected to be thrown on these topics by the report of the Sadler Commission.

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To an audience like the present it would be superfluous to speak on the supreme need for instruction in the essentials of Hindu religion or for reviving and encouraging the study of our sacred literature and its reinterpretation in the light of modern ideas and scientific knowledge. The fear has been expressed in some quarters that the teaching in the Hindu University might treat everything contained in our Puranas with indiscriminating reverence and as entitled to equal weight and that if, for instance, the system of geography or of mythology contained in them were to be taught as a body of facts, it would be rendering itself ridiculous and exercise a mischievous influence. Critics of this sort are unaware that the spirit of rational investigation has always occupied a place in the history of Indian thought and that the principles of interpretation supplied by our Shastras furnish the means for sifting the essentials of religion from the unessential elements. Speaking for myself, I have no apprehension of the Hindu University following any such reactionary course. It is also needless to dilate upon the vital necessity of preserving all that is best in Indian culture. Great service has been rendered to the Hindu community by Sir John Woodroffe by his spirited vindication of the value of Indian culture in his recently published book. It must be the aim of this University to preserve and promote Indian culture by giving importance

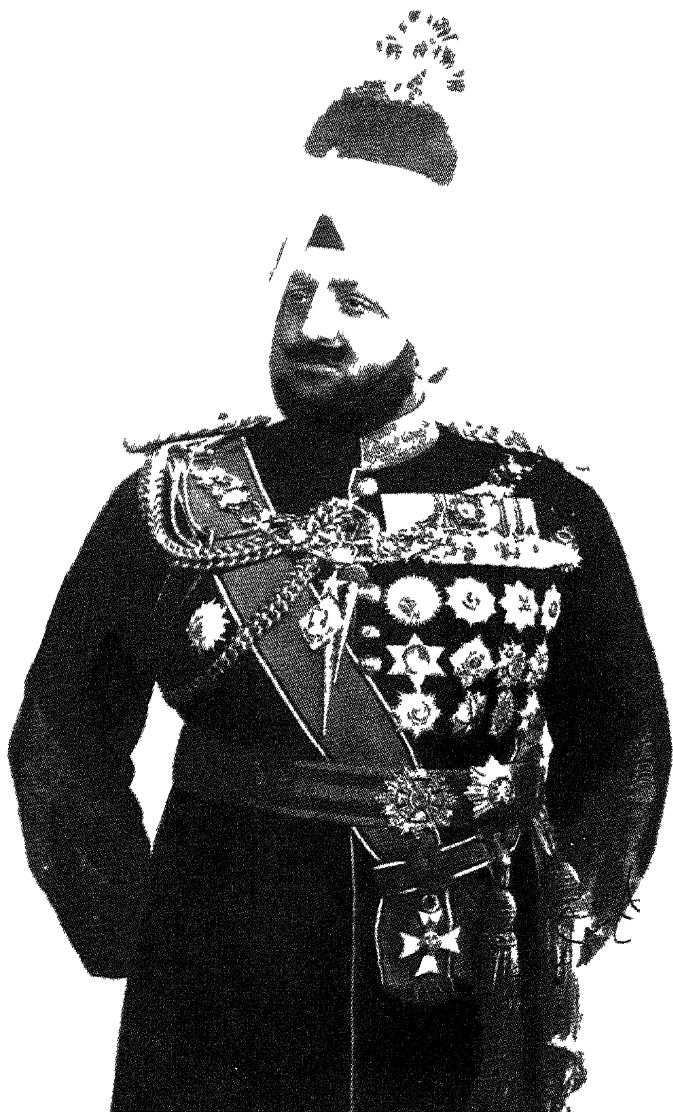
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to Samskrit learning in the fields of literature, philosophy and religion, in the Faculties of Arts, Oriental Learning and Theology.

Certain complaints have been made as to the management of the Hindu University and the policy which it has followed. In a speech recently made in the south it was observed by Sir Rabindranath Tagore that even in the Hindu University, he could find very little that could be called really Hindu. What was probably in the mind of our illustrious countryman was that proper provision had not been made for the teaching of religion in the curricula. As already pointed out, religious instruction was one of the objects with which this University was founded and it is, therefore, pledged to provide for such instruction. The subject of the proper organisation of religious instruction has been entrusted to a committee of the Faculty of Theology and the preparation of suitable courses is still under consideration. We welcome the criticism as a helpful reminder of our duty in this respect. Complaint has been made in another quarter that the university has not formulated its ideals or the methods to be adopted for their attainment. I have already observed that our ideals cannot well be totally different from those of the modern universities of the best type. Theoretically it might be desirable for the university to assume for its domain every department of human

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knowledge. But financial, regional and other practical limitations must stand in the way of any ambitious assumption of an encyclopaedic character. The effect of these limitations will be particularly obvious in the departments of applied science. What branches of applied science can be undertaken by the university must depend upon these limitations and upon the urgency of the needs of the country. For years past, the improvement of the economic resources of the country has been occupying the public mind and the conscience of the Government has been recently awakened by the world-war to the necessity of taking steps to promote the industrial development of India and make it as self-contained as possible. His Excellency the Viceroy assured us that it was the intention of the Government to take immediate action upon the report of the Industrial Commission and lay the foundations for a scheme for progressive industrial development. His Excellency pointed out that the need of the hour was the supply of trained Indians capable of carrying out scientific research and of Indians capable of taking part as leaders and not merely as labourers in industrial and commercial enterprise. The dawn of a new era of industrial development is in sight, and it is the duty of the Hindu University to prepare young men for it by education in those departments of applied scientific knowledge which are likely



H H THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA

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to be of most use in our present condition. In this view, the most important subjects in which this University should provide teaching are Engineering, Agriculture and Commerce. The question has been engaging the attention of the Council of the University and it has been decided to start a college of mechanical and electrical engineering as being, probably, the most pressing necessity of the day. Yet another reason for giving precedence to the claims of instruction in engineering is the munificent donation during the last year by his Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, to whom the University owes profound gratitude, of a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs for capital expenditure and Rs. 24,000 per annum for the maintenance of chairs for mechanical and electrical engineering. We have fortunately been able to secure the services of Mr. C. A. King, Professor of mechanical engineering at Sibpur, as the Principal of our Engineering College and the scheme prepared by him provides for instruction in mechanical and electrical engineering up to the highest standard of the English universities. The total non-recurring expenditure has been estimated at a sum of Rs 10 lacs and the annual expenditure, after the first period of 5 years at Rs. 1,20,000 per annum. The scheme has been referred to a committee for approval and in the meanwhile one of the workshops has been constructed and it is expected that sufficient progress will be made

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to start teaching in July next. In Agriculture a scheme has been prepared by Dr. Harold Mann of Poona and this has also been referred to a committee for report. His proposals for an Agricultural College and Farm with all their accessories also involve an initial expenditure of about 10 lacs and a gross recurring expenditure of about a lac. These figures may appear high, but they are certainly not extravagant when compared with the sums that have been spent upon the professional colleges maintained by the State. In this connection an observation may be made which is of equal applicability to all other departments of our activity—that our aim should be to afford the very highest standard of education possible and that any stinting of money in securing efficiency of equipment or staff would be a very unwise piece of economy. I have much pleasure in announcing that his Highness the Maharaja of Benares has been graciously pleased to promise to grant a permanent lease of 1,200 acres of land adjoining the University grounds to enable us to carry out our agricultural developments. The University is grateful to his Highness for this further proof of the deep interest taken by him in its well-being. The rough outlines of a college of commerce were kindly furnished to us by one of our well-wishers, but the consideration of this subject has made much less progress than that of the others. Though

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the college of commerce will not cost anything like the other two professional colleges we have to be prepared for a fairly considerable recurring expenditure under this head also. It has been suggested by some of our critics that we should chalk out the exact lines of expansion of the University and the order in which the different developments should be undertaken. But it is by no means an easy matter to settle which of the several departments of higher technical education is more important than others. Nor even, if this were feasible, would it be possible to adhere rigidly to any preordained plan. For instance, it would be difficult to decide, whether Mechanical Engineering or Agriculture is more important to the country. For my own part, I might be disposed to attach more importance to Mechanical Engineering in view of our more backward condition in manufacturing industries, but it would be idle to expect unanimity on questions like this, and instead of wasting time over discussion for the purpose of settling the relative claims to priority of these departments, we shall do well to start these developments according to the opportunities, pecuniary support and other facilities available. If persons interested in any special departments of knowledge will put us in possession of funds or help us to secure sufficient funds for opening that department, the management of the University will

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gratefully welcome their aid and do its best to open such department. Another department which may be appropriately expanded in the Hindu University and to which, I believe, great importance is attached by the public in this Province even more than elsewhere, is Ayurvedic medicine, the study of which may be placed on an improved basis by the creation of a separate college with a hospital attached thereto, for the necessary clinical material. What is wanted in my opinion, in this department is not the mere study of the old text-books according to the traditional methods, but a scientific study of the subject along with those auxiliary sciences, which according to modern notions are indispensable to the practice of medicine and in the light of the results of modern knowledge and scientific research. The woeful indifference of our educated men to the fine arts suggests yet another sphere of activity, which the University would be justified in creating if sufficient funds were forthcoming. We could provide for the cultivation of the aesthetic faculty by opening schools for the scientific study of Music (Indian and European), Architecture and Town-planning, painting and sculpture. The development of the University, in all these directions, must necessarily require time and I would request our impatient critics to remember that it is little more than two years since the University Act came into force and that full-blown universities equipped in all

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the main departments of human knowledge cannot be brought into existence by merely wishing for them. I yield to none in my eagerness to realise all our ideals in as short a period as possible, but as practical men we are obliged to recognise the limitations of time, money and effort.

I have so far indicated the main branches of knowledge in which it is desirable that the University should undertake teaching in the near future, but the University will have fulfilled only a part of its purpose, however important, if it confines itself to the provision of a sound liberal education for the rank and file of its undergraduates. An equally important, if not higher object, is the promotion of original investigation and research. This can only be accomplished by the provision of sufficient facilities for research to the professorial staff, by the encouragement of post-graduate work by the most brilliant students in seminaries and laboratories in intimate association with and under the living inspiration of professors who are themselves engaged in original work and by the establishment of residential fellowships in the sciences and humanities including oriental and of foreign scholarships for research. The importance of this subject has not been overlooked by the Council. A committee has been appointed to consider the matter and though the committee

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has not yet been able to make its report, it is hoped that it may be possible to formulate a scheme during this session and to carry it out as soon as necessary funds can be made available. Even if it be not possible to secure permanent endowments for such fellowships, it would be necessary to establish them for a period of 10 or 15 years at least, so that we may be able to produce a band of investigators imbued with a love of research and willing to devote their lives to the work of teaching and research. Even from the pecuniary point of view, expenditure on such fellowships would be profitable to the University since it may be possible to enter into engagements with the holders of these fellowships and scholarships that they should, when fully qualified and if so desired by the University, take part in the work of teaching on a modest scale of remuneration similar to that which obtains in most other countries in the world. It is only by collecting such a group of research workers that we should be able to create a suitable academic atmosphere favourable to the quest of truth and the advancement of knowledge.

The popularisation of western knowledge by translations and by original works and the adoption in a growing measure of the vernacular as the vehicle of instruction have undoubtedly to be included among the ideals of Hindu University, but it is one of those ideals

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which require time for realization and while I would deprecate any precipitancy in this direction, I do not think it necessary to put off all attempts till suitable text-books in the vernacular come into existence. The assumption that it is necessary to coin equivalent words in the vernacular for all scientific and technical terms is dictated by a false patriotism and a spirit of literary puritanism. The tendency throughout the civilized world is to adopt as far as possible the same scientific vocabulary so as to facilitate the international exchange of scientific ideas. The realm of scientific knowledge recognises no exclusive distinctions of race, nationality or country.

I shall now pass on to one or two questions of university reform, which have engaged the anxious attention of all who have devoted any thought to the improvement of our universities. I wish first to refer to the imperative need for mitigating the baneful effects on education of the system of examinations. Even in the old teaching universities of England it has been felt that examinations occupy an undue share of the attention of the students and are inimical to the best interests of education. The conclusions arrived at by the Haldane Commission on University Education in London was that examinations were an insufficient and inconclusive test of a real university education, that due weight should be given to the whole record

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of the students' work in the university and that if scope for individual initiative was to be allowed to the professors and the students were to fully profit by their instruction, it was necessary that subject to the proper safeguards, the degrees of the university should practically be the certificates given by the professors themselves. Any one with a knowledge of the state of things in this country will readily admit that examinations have become the end of student life and have had a disastrous effect upon the whole system of education. In the case of a unitary university like ours managed by a nonofficial body and labouring under no necessity of maintaining a uniformity of standard by a system of external examinations, it should be possible to check the evil either by abolishing examinations or by reducing their importance as a qualification for degrees. There may, however, be more difficulty in eradicating the evil than may appear at first sight. The fact that the examination system will continue to flourish in some form or another and be accepted as furnishing a hall mark for the issue of degrees in the adjoining state universities, the unfortunate tendency of large numbers of graduates to seek employment under the Government and the jealous suspicion with which the Government is likely to regard degrees issued upon a system of no public examinations as a form of debased coinage and the deep-rooted desire on the part of the

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parents of students for the attainment of distinction by their sons in the examination races are some of the factors with which our university will have to reckon in introducing an urgently needed and most wholesome reform. It is also necessary to bear in mind that it will take some time after the university is fully organised for the professorial staff to acquire the confidence of the public in their impartiality and standard of judgment. In the meanwhile it is to be hoped that the maintenance of a preponderance of internal examiners may be the means of providing a fairer test of education. It may be mentioned in passing, that in Japan, to whose example our countrymen are often disposed to appeal, the examinations in the universities are frequently oral and not written and that marks are neither published nor classified in any way.

Yet another defect in the existing system which obtains in a much more intensified form in this country than in England is the unfitness of a large majority of the students at the school-leaving or matriculation stage to enter upon a university course. The remedy, in my opinion, is not to extend the school course and impose upon students an additional year of instruction under more or less the same class of teachers under whom they are educated up to the sixth form, but to treat the intermediate

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examination as the stage at which real university education should begin and to extend the course for B. A. examination for pass and honours alike to be a period of three years, the abler students alone being allowed to take the honours course and the rest being allowed to take the pass course. Our University will not have fulfilled its purpose, if it retains the defects of the existing universities and makes no attempt to follow a policy more in keeping with the trend of the best educational opinion.

The great war which has ended in a glorious victory for the empire and its allies has been full of lessons to the nations of the world. It has brought home to us in a most vivid manner the economic helplessness of the country, the need for making the country more self-reliant and more independent of supplies from other countries and the need for training our countrymen to take their proper place in the economic development of the country. It has also burnt into our minds our utter want of military training and our unfitness to take our proper place in the defence of the country and the empire in the same manner in which European peoples have been able to come forward. I do not, for a moment, wish to under-rate the service actually rendered by India to Europe during the war; but we cannot help feeling that if India had been properly trained to arms, she could have

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thrown her weight into the scale on behalf of the Empire with at least the same decisive weight with which America threw herself into the war. To the nations of the west, the war has brought home the importance of respect for the rights of all nations, small or large, the absurdity of seeking to impose by force the culture of one nation upon others and the moral degradation to which aggressive nationalism and the hunger for territorial and commercial expansion will lead a nation. The principle of 'live and let live,' which has had to be reinforced in the west by the lessons of this dreadful war, has always been one of the basic ideals of Hindu culture. It is no longer possible for us to stay where we are. The improvement in the means of communication which has brought together all parts of the world has rendered every country sensible to the shocks of political and economic disturbances in other parts of the world, and our position as members of a world-wide empire has rendered us especially sensitive. Whether we wish it or not, we cannot help being sucked into the whirlpool of international economic competition, which, it is too much to hope, can possibly be terminated by any League of Nations. If our country is to survive the struggle and acquire the same vitality as other nations, it can only be by the assimilation of the scientific knowledge and culture of the west. Our adaptation to the changed conditions

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can only be brought about by a combination of Indian and European culture and not by the sacrifice of the former or by the slavish absorption of the latter. The problems of reconstruction which India will also have to face can only be successfully solved by a sound system of education, physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual, by the application of scientific knowledge to the practical needs of life and by the cultivation of a spirit of enlightened patriotism and self-sacrifice and of a love of order and freedom. In the accomplishment of this task the universities in India have a most important part to fulfil. It is the privilege of the Hindu University that its promoters have been the first to realize the importance and necessity of combining Indian and European culture. Other universities may, and let us hope, will, adopt the same ideal, but none can vie with this University in the advantage of its situation in the sacred city, which for ages past has been the centre of Hindu learning and Hindu culture and has possessed a unique hold upon the imagination, affections and religious instincts of the people. The history of this city may be traced back to the date of the Upanishads, to a probable antiquity of at least three thousand years. Here came Gârgya Bâlâki, filled with conceit of learning, eager to proclaim his knowledge in the court of King Ajâtsatru of Kâshi, whom he challenged to a discussion of the highest verities. Vanquished

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in the debate, he had to beg leave of the wise king to become his pupil and acquire knowledge of the Brahman. Hither did the Lord Buddha direct his wandering steps and here did he stay for years to preach his new message to mankind. Hither came also the great Sankaracharya, the founder of the Advaita Philosophy, to preach his doctrines and convert his opponents. Through centuries of political disturbance and against the onslaught of rival faiths, Kashi has ever maintained its position as the citadel of the Hindu faith and handed on without quenching the torch of Hindu learning and Hindu culture. Where is the city in India, which can claim the same rich association with Hindu faith and culture for so long a period, and is so eminently fitted to attract the Hindu world? It is a visionary ideal to cherish that, when our University is fully developed, it will become a shrine of learning, both Oriental and western, to which students from all parts of the Hindu world will be attracted for the purpose of education in the same way as the Ganges attracts pilgrims from all over India? The removal of ignorance and the spread of knowledge in things moral and spiritual is the motto of this University. Salvation by faith and by knowledge has been and will continue to be the function of Kashi. The sacred river traversing the whole width of the continent, gathering in itself the waters of mighty confluent streams and spreading fertility

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and wealth over vast areas by numberless branches, shall be an emblem of the part which this University is destined to play in the spread of learning, culture and spirituality. Nor will the Indian renaissance be confined in its effects to this country alone. Our turn will come to enrich the culture of the west with our spiritual culture : in the eloquent words of Professor Geddes, 'western glories ever rekindle in the east and eastern dawn travels surely towards the west.'

Graduates of the year, in the name of the University, I congratulate you on the degrees you have attained as the reward of your ability, industry and devotion to learning. The solemn exhortation which in the days of the Upanishads, the Guru addressed to his disciples on the completion of their course of studies and which has been recited today must be still ringing in your ears. No words of mine can add to the impressiveness of the sacred text. Ever bear in mind in your career through life the solemn injunction never to swerve from the truth and never to swerve from the path of Dharma, a word which, in itself embraces the law and the prophets and sums up the whole of morality. If your western learning has inspired you with a love of freedom and of personal rights, the precepts of your religion place before you in the fore-front of your ideas the conception of duty to all your fellow-beings.

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No religion has set loftier ideals. To obtain a mastery of our lower selves and to follow the path of duty without any fear of personal consequences or desire for reward has been the injunction of our religion. You will have to play an important part in the regeneration of India and the making of her future so as to enable her to take an honoured place in the league of nations. Whether the victorious termination of the great war will be a permanent harbinger of peace to the world, or whether it is only the fall of the curtain upon the first act of the drama and the disruptive forces which have been set loose in parts of Europe will spread to other countries of the world and will lead to a more terrific conflagration by setting the members of every nation at war with each other, is still in the womb of the future. Whatever the course of events and in whatever condition you may be placed, always enlist yourselves on the side of order and justice, humanity and freedom. Remember that you are graduates of the University of Kashi, a city whose intellectual and spiritual renown is more ancient than that of any European city, but never boast of your heritage of culture or spirituality. Your culture and your spirituality must run with the blood in your veins and form part of the texture of your souls. Remember also that not merely will you be judged by your conduct but the University also will be judged by her offspring

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and bear yourselves so that you bring lustre to your *Alma Mater* and enable her, as far as in you lies, to claim a place among the best universities of the world.



CHAPTER X.

Pandit Malaviya's Convocation Address.

This is the second Convocation of the Benares Hindu University. The first feeling that rises uppermost in my heart—and I am sure the same feeling would also rise in the hearts of all those connected with this University—is a feeling of supreme thankfulness to the Almighty, from whom flow all blessings, that we have reached a stage when we are celebrating the Second Anniversary of our University. It was in the year 1904 in this city under the presidency of His Highness the Maharajah of Benares that the scheme of the Hindu University was first propounded. In the year 1905 the scheme was put in the form of a prospectus, and on the 31st of December 1905, the year in which the Indian National Congress was held here, a number of distinguished men from all parts of India met in the Town Hall to express their opinions on it and the scheme received their general approval. It was pushed on for a while, but owing to one reason or another its commencement was delayed till the year 1910. Much preliminary work had to be done before the scheme could be properly launched. In the year in which His Majesty the King-Emperor

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was to visit India, the proposal was re-published and another prospectus was issued to show why the Hindu University was wanted and what it aimed at. The first prospectus had clearly indicated why it was wanted, but some vital changes were necessary. When the scheme was taken up in the year 1911 it met with great support. A number of Princes and other donors promised generous help to it. Promises of donations of 25 lacs were secured, and then the Government was approached, and thanks to the Government of Lord Hardinge and to the keen interest which His Lordship took in the scheme, and thanks also to the support of Sir Harcourt Butler, the then Member for Education, it was settled before long that Government would pass an Act to incorporate the Benares Hindu University. Subscriptions began to flow in greater measure. Over 50 lacs had been subscribed when on the 1st October 1915, the Benares Hindu University Act received the assent of the Governor-General of India. In the year 1917 the Government permitted us to start work on these very premises.

In the meantime a magnificent site, two miles long and one mile broad, has been acquired at Nagwa which has cost us nearly 6 lakhs, and buildings are rapidly rising upon it. The College of Arts, the Physical Laboratory and the Chemical Laboratory are

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expected to be ready in the course of six weeks. Two hostels which will accommodate 600 students are also expected to be ready very soon. A number of workshops have been constructed and the work of the Engineering College is going on splendidly under the zealous superintendence and guidance of Mr. King, the Principal. We have arrived at such a stage in the construction of the buildings that we hope to be able to make a move to our new home in July next or at the latest in January 1921. We hope to have the great honour and pleasure of welcoming His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in our midst. The Council of the University has decided to send a respectful invitation to His Royal Highness. In the meantime a great deal has to be done and much more money is urgently needed.

It has been said that in order to push forward and promote the objects of the scheme we should pay more attention to the foundation of chairs and not devote all our funds to buildings. Let me assure you all that that has not been overlooked by the University authorities. We have taken care to push only such buildings as are necessary in order that we may move on to the new site. At this stage what is wanted is that we should get much more support from all our donors, and I hope everyone interested in the Uni-

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versity will help us to realize the money that is necessary in order to carry out our object.

It is necessary to bear in mind that we are at a very important period in the history of our country and of the University. We have not only to equip the Faculty of Theology and Oriental Learning and of Arts and Science, both pure and applied, but also to constitute, according to the programme which we first published, the Faculty of Agriculture, the Faculty of Technology, the Faculty of Commerce, the Faculty of Medicine, of Music and of Fine Arts. We also urgently require money in order to have a Library worthy of the University. We require a Museum which will enable our students to study the various branches of learning which they have to pursue here. We require to build a Temple. We require more hostels to accommodate the increasing number of students who are coming to the Benares Hindu University from all parts of the country. To secure satisfactory progress in all these numerous directions, a very large sum of money is needed. I hope you will agree with me that our most pressing necessity at this stage is to get together whatever money is necessary to give the University a satisfactory start.

We are entering upon a new era in the history of our country. You all know the Proclamation which His Majesty the King-

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Emperor has been pleased to issue. You also know that the Reform Act has been passed. The Act is important but the Royal Proclamation is of even greater importance. When His Majesty was leaving India on the occasion of his last visit he gave us a message of hope. That hope has been partly realised, and you have now in the Proclamation the promise of full responsible government in the fullness of time. You have in that Proclamation a solemn expression of His Majesty's sincere desire that the people of India should take their proper place in the scale of nations. As a step towards that end, you have in that Proclamation the command to us all to co-operate to make the Reform Act a success.

The most important question with which we are concerned to-day is the question of education. You all know that education is going to be a transferred subject, not merely primary and secondary education, but University education also. You all know the opportunity this will give us to promote the cause of education. We have long been complaining that education has not been adequately provided for. We have long urged that a great deal more should be done. The duty and responsibility of trying to do what we have asked our fellow-subjects in the Government service to do is now cast upon us.

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We have to survey the situation and to see in what way the Universities can best serve the cause of education.

There is also another important event which affects the situation. At this juncture when education is going to be transferred to ministers elected by the people and responsible to the Legislature, the Calcutta University Commission have published their report. That report is the result of several years of close study, and the recommendations it contains are receiving the attention of various Provincial Governments. It is not possible for me here to attempt a full survey of the recommendations, but I will draw your attention to one or two which are of vital importance and because they closely affect our own work here. You know that one of the most important recommendations of the Commission is that the Intermediate Arts and Science classes should be separated from the rest of the College, and constituted an Intermediate College, and that the courses for the degree should be limited to three years, with honours and pass courses. Students who pass with honours are to be permitted to appear as special cases for the M. A. degree in the course of a year. These two points will make a very vital change in the position of the Colleges and the Universities. There is much difference of opinion as to which course will be the better one. There

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is a widespread opinion that the Intermediate classes should be separated from the University proper. But there is difference on the question whether these classes should be constituted into separate intermediate colleges or whether they should be added to the High Schools.

Now, gentlemen, it would be venturesome on my part to express any opinion off hand on matters which have received the consideration of such distinguished educationists as Sir Michael Sadler and our own distinguished countryman, Sir Asutosh Mukherji. There were also other educationists like Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Mr. Hornell and others, who were very competent to deal with the question. But it seems to me that the matter is of such vital importance, and will so greatly affect the work of all our Universities, that the proper course would be to call a conference of expert educationists who can speak with personal knowledge and experience, to consider what would be the best course to adopt. I have myself discussed the matter with many of my colleagues and others and I have found that there is a large body of opinion against the view that intermediate colleges should be separately constituted.

It is urged that we should boldly deal with the problem of education as a whole, and not merely in part. If we approach the question in that way the first important point for consider-

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ration will be, as the Commission have pointed out, the question of the medium of instruction. I am happy to think that the Commission has recommended that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction in the schools. They have also recommended that in the Intermediate Colleges and the University the medium of instruction should be English. In these recommendations I would make a little modification. I think the time has come when the vernacular should be the medium of instruction not merely in the schools but throughout the University and even in the highest stages. I am fully aware that our vernacular does not at present possess the necessary literature to enable us to teach all subjects through its medium. But that want will not be made up by our postponing the beginning of work in this direction. That want will be removed only if we clearly define to ourselves the aim which we have in view, the policy which we are going to pursue. There is no civilized country that does not employ the mother-tongue of the people for imparting instruction, higher as well as elementary. Why should we continue to err by being singular in that respect? You have to consider the problem from the top downwards. Because English is the medium of instruction in our schools our educationists have to employ much of their time and thought from an early period to determine at what stage the teaching of English

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should be begun. That vitiates the position. If from the outset the Government and the public make up their mind that the vernacular shall be employed wherever it may be practicable, and that efforts must be made to remove the want of suitable books, which is no doubt a very serious hindrance, then, I say the question of elementary education and of the position of English in the middle schools will be better solved than otherwise. Let not anybody think that we do not appreciate the English language. I am sure we all value it and are deeply grateful for the benefits which our countrymen have received for the last several decades as the result of education through English. That education has helped the growth of national sentiment and has widened our outlook. Let us therefore gratefully acknowledge the debt we owe to the present system of education. Let us at the same time discriminate between our duty to the past and to the future. We have had disadvantages also from that system having been pursued. But in this matter the fault lies more with us than with the Government. I am sorry to think that not many of us have realised our responsibility to our own people for translating works from other languages for the benefit of those who have not received English education. I am not forgetting that in some provinces, especially in Bengal, remarkable progress has been made in this direction. In these provinces also the progress

made in the development of Urdu and Hindi has been great. But I feel that it is like a drop in the ocean compared with what remains to be done.

The next question is: What shall be the measure of primary and secondary education which has to be given to our people? I feel we ought to do what Germany did many years ago, what Japan did in more recent years, what America and France had done for many years, and what England has been slowly awakening to in recent years. England did not go in for a thorough system of education for a long time, but now our English friends have recognised the need of putting secondary education on a satisfactory footing. The Education Act of 1918 is the outcome of that feeling. What I ask is that here too the course of primary and secondary instruction up to the age of 14 should be revised. We should not be content merely with the three R's in the primary stage. It is an inadequate course in view of the progress which the world has achieved. We should have a course which will give to our boys a knowledge of elementary science and of other matters of common general interest which they ought to know. The next question will be what should be the duration of the stage of secondary education. I believe the duration should be from the 14th to the 17th or 18th year. The secondary

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school here should be what the secondary school is in France, Japan and in England under the new Act. A lad who goes through the primary course should be qualified to enter upon the secondary course with advantage. At the High School he should learn not merely a little more of what he has learnt at the earlier stage, but he should learn that which will prepare him for the pursuit of a career in one direction or another. Then the High School will be a real training ground for life for the great bulk of our young men as it is in other civilised countries. Under this system the number of students going up to the College will not be diminished; on the other hand I expect the number will increase and the money spent on higher education will produce better results. The Calcutta University Commission has recommended that there should be an Intermediate College in every district. The result of this will be that many students who thirst after knowledge, who want to qualify themselves for some vocational work, will not have to leave their homes early for distant University centres but will remain up to the age of 16 or 18 in their own districts. This will cheapen education for the bulk of our students and will improve its quality.

Obviously this proposal is worthy of consideration. The question is how a decision should be reached. Should each University be

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left to decide the matter for itself ? Will that conduce to that uniformity of progress in all provinces that is desired ? I say no. The question affects all Universities, and I submit that there should be a Conference where this matter should be discussed. It may be that on further consideration this recommendation may be rejected, but I do not apprehend that this will be the case. The time has long gone by when merely education in Arts can satisfy the needs of the community, and in view of the great progress that science has made during the last two centuries, and the tremendous advance that has been made in applied science, I do not think any body will come forward to say that any course of instruction will be satisfactory which did not provide for instruction in elementary science in primary schools and of some vocational instruction in our High Schools.

I think it is high time that vernaculars should be made the medium of instruction to as large an extent as possible and it should be our endeavour to prepare ourselves for it at the earliest opportunity. We know the value of English as a language of world-wide utility. It is not suggested that English should be dropped. In a well-organized system of education English should find its proper place. I feel the necessity of our young men learning a foreign language. And I do not know of any foreign language

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which can compare in the matter of utility for us with English. For sixty years and more English has been taught in all parts of our country and it is to-day understood by quite a large number of our people. It is also a key to a knowledge of arts and sciences of the highest kind. But English should be taught by the direct method as a second language and not as the first language for the study and mastery of which our youth have to devote many precious years of their lives.

I hope that either the Government or some of the older Universities will call a Conference to consider all these questions and to arrive at a solution which will be acceptable by the country as a whole. It is not possible to dispose of them in any other way. We must be prepared to be guided in this matter by the opinion of those who have given years of their lives to the teaching of English and of the vernacular both in school and college. I am sure if we can get together such a Conference, the discussion will lead to great good. When a national policy has been adopted the work of the Universities will be easier and more fruitful.

I may mention here that it is a matter of great satisfaction to us that the recommendations which have been made by the Commission, both on the administrative and on the academic side,

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were forestalled by this University. The constitution which the Commission has recommended is on the lines of the one adopted by the Hindu University.

So far therefore as we are concerned the question before us is how we are going to discharge our duty of carrying out the objects which we have set before us. Here we come again to the question of ways and means. They are of two kinds: men and money, and we need both to build up the University. We should visualise to ourselves the opportunities this University gives and the responsibilities which it casts upon us. We have a special message to give to the world. At this juncture there is a great deal of stir in the educational world. Europe feels rather doubtful about the wisdom of the course which it has pursued, because that course has not prevented the terrible war which has attacked civilization itself. We have our ancient system of education which combines spiritual with secular education,—which holds up before us all the four objects of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama* and *Moksha*. Are we going to profit by it or to drop it? These are questions which we have to consider. There is another duty cast upon us. When we think of the great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, when we hear Oxonians and Cantabs dwelling with pleasure and gratitude on the atmosphere

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they breathed in the halls of those famous seats of learning, what is it that we should desire to do here ? When we read of the love of Frenchmen and Germans for their Universities and national institutions, when we read of the patriotic pride which the Japanese feel for their country and for their national treasures, what are the ideas that force themselves upon our minds ! We, the inheritors of a civilization which had many Universities like those of Taxilla and Nalanda, what have we to show to the world to-day. We have reason to be proud of this ancient seat of learning. The history of Benares goes far back into the distant past. It is one of the most ancient cities of the world. It is hoary with sacred memories. Here lived Raja Harishchandra, who ages ago wrote his name down for his love of truth ineffaceably for all eternity. It was here that Buddha preached his great religion of love to all sentient creation. Here came Shankar who won the glory of re-establishing the ancient religion. Here lived Vyasa, the great interpreter and preserver of our noble ancient scriptures, here lived Tulsidas and Kabir. Where are the national institutions which record the activities of these great souls ? Where is the national museum where you have preserved your national arts and treasures ? Where are your national paintings and national sculptures ? I have heard criticisms that we are spending too much on buildings. I would

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only invite your attention to what the ancient Universities of the world have done in that direction and to the lessons they have for us. I wish you all to cooperate wholeheartedly in building a modern Nalanda and a modern Taxilla at Benares. Let us build up this place as the great seat of learning of the Hindus. We have a magnificent site which is two miles long and one mile broad and which can be added to; we have a Government which is helping us, and we have got Princes and donors who are willing liberally to support us. The plan of the University has appealed to the imagination of educated India. Let us all join together and devote ourselves to the task of carrying it out. I have no doubt we shall soon achieve something for which we shall have reason to be proud. I hope this appeal will meet with a response from every sister and brother whom I see here and of millions of others outside the hall. I am very glad Mrs. Annie Besant is here. She has laboured long and assiduously to help the College and the University. We are deeply grateful to her for it. I wish it were possible for me to make you feel as I feel that we Hindus have not fully done our duty in the matter of preserving things which are sacred and dear to us. But let the dead past bury its dead. Let us think of the present and vow to make Benares a place of the highest culture for which it was noted in

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the past. It is for us so to build this University that every inch of its ground shall have a story to tell and a purpose to disclose. I ask you never to falter or despair, but to go forward with the conviction that our labour shall succeed and that what was done in the ancient past shall be done and done better in the present age, that we shall achieve in the near future what our ancestors achieved ages ago and again bring glory to our ancient land.

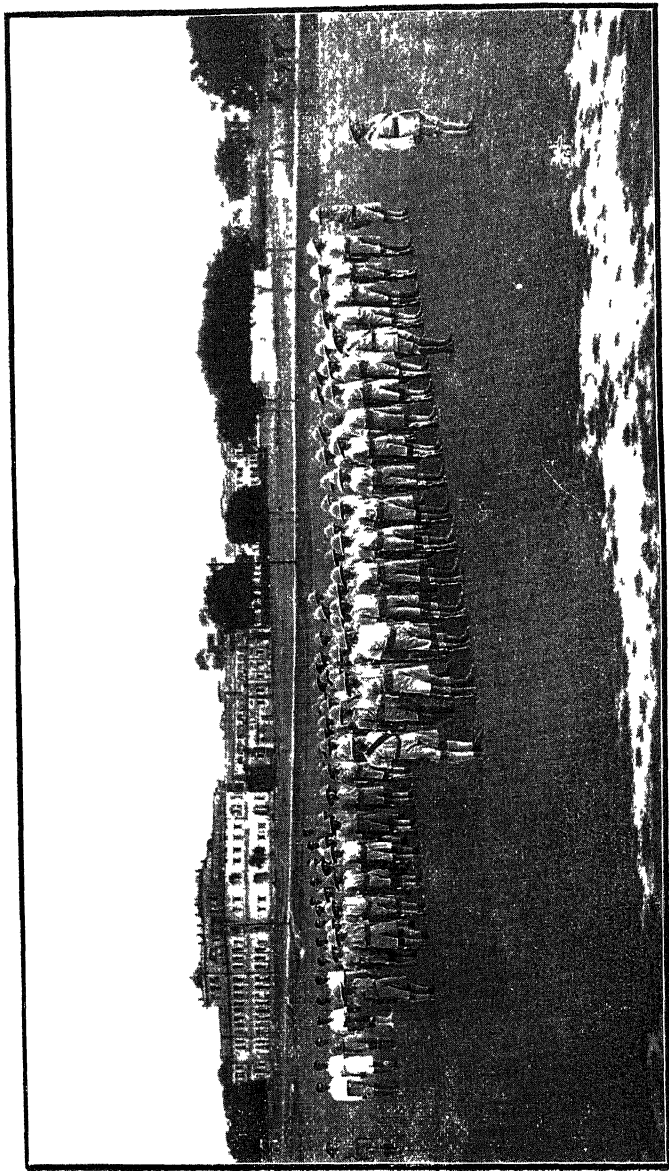
Graduates and those who have received degrees to-day, I exhort you in particular to consider it your sacred duty to do all that you can to build up what it is your proud privilege to call your *Alma Mater*. Let it be your dutiful endeavour to contribute your full share to the building up of this national temple of learning. We have to build a place towards which every Hindu shall feel it his duty to contribute something—it may be in labour, money or thought. I have full faith that Vishwanatha, by whose blessing we have achieved our present success will further bless our efforts and will enable us to complete the plan which owes its birth to his holy inspiration.

CHAPTER XI

H. E. Lord Rector's Address

On the 1st December 1921, the Benares Hindu University had the privilege of welcoming His Excellency Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India and Ex-officio Lord Rector of the University. After a speech of welcome by the Vice-Chancellor, the Lord Rector delivered the following address.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and members of the University,—My first thought is to thank you for the welcome that you have given me to-day, and also for the opportunity of being among you at this meeting of the University. It is my first visit to a University in India, and it is appropriate that the visit should be paid here. As I listened to the address, which you delivered, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I was impressed by the variety of subjects covered by your present curriculum, and that which you intend to institute. I observed also the emphasis you laid upon the ethical teaching to be derived from religion and from other studies. Whatever you may teach, whatever you may instil into the minds of the young when they come in that plastic state in which impressions are so quickly received, I doubt very much, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, whether the highest result of education is not the formation of character. Whatever you may achieve in intellectual effect, if it does not produce character, it has in fact failed in its



UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS

H. E. LORD RECTOR'S ADDRESS

primary object. I must take this opportunity also of congratulating this University upon its position among the universities of India and on the rapid growth of its development.

It was, as I understand, the earliest of Indian universities to adopt the organisation of a residential teaching institution, and also a new form of constitution with a distinction drawn between administrative and academic matters, each entrusted to a separate body, while a large representative body forms the supreme authority. In these two important respects it actually forestalled the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. That Commission expressed its opinion of this University in language which must be familiar to those of you who have studied the history, short as it is, of this University, and who will know that that Commission, composed as it was of men of high calibre, pronounced high praise upon the ideas that were the basis of this institution. I must not forget, and indeed no student of this University could forget, and no visitor to this University should forget, that this is largely owing to the untiring energies and activities of you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor. I doubt whether any of us, and I include in this the young amongst you, whose ages I envy so much, at the end of a long life spent in useful public work, will be able to point to any greater

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work than has been achieved here by your Vice-Chancellor during his life.

There are other names nobly associated with the commencement of this great popular enterprise. Foremost amongst them, as I understand, were two of the most enlightened rulers of Indian States, your Chancellor and your Pro-Chancellor, also the Maharaja of Darbhanga and the late Sir Sundar Lal, your first Vice-Chancellor. Here on this site in this ancient city of learning consecrated by religious tradition and age-long associations there have sprung up a group of imposing halls, as if they had risen under the influence of an enchanter's wand, and as I say it, I remind myself that your Vice-Chancellor has told me that whatever one may see at the moment is only the beginning of that vaster development which is in the minds of himself and those associated with this University. But your aims are great, from all that I have heard and read, of the objects of this institution, and from the observations that fell from you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor. You are seeking to preserve and foster all that is noblest in Hindu ideals, Hindu life, Hindu thought, Hindu religion and tradition, and culture and civilisation. You have also implanted in its natural soil what you think beneficial for your purpose of Western science and of Western industry and art, so that your young men, when they go

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out into the world, should not only be equipped with the teachings of the Hindu tradition, but also other knowledge which somehow or other we in the Western world have managed to acquire. Consequently, when they have to take up their avocations in life, they will not only be fitted religiously and ethically to fight the battle of life, but will also have the necessary equipment for more material progress.

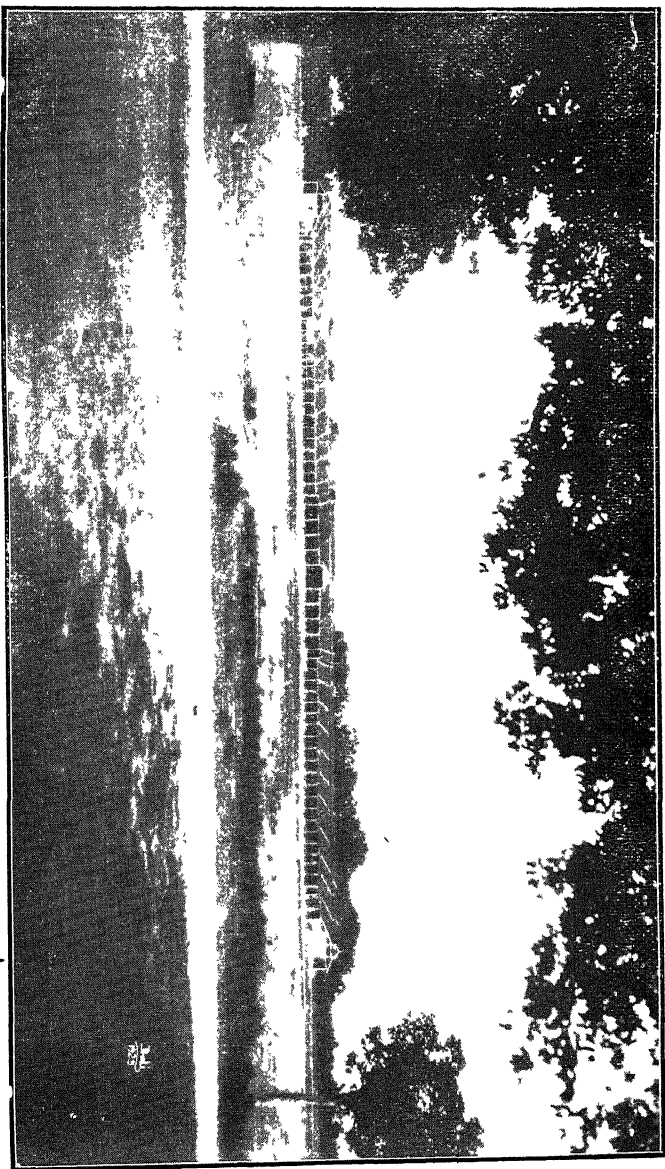
It is an elevation to the mind and to me an inspiration to understand and appreciate your purposes. I trust that the future will be bright, and that the temporary difficulties of which we have heard will be satisfactorily surmounted. You are not singular, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, in this University in feeling the financial strain. When I listened to you, I thought that I might have been in England, and listening to the many appeals that come to us from all quarters. Human nature being much the same here as it is with us, there was the same courteous attempt to impress upon the Government authorities how necessary it is that they should come forward with a better helping hand. To-day this was implied with all the delicacy of your position as hosts. All I can say is that this problem is now familiar throughout the world, but I trust that yours is only a transient embarrassment. I cannot believe it possible in India that this great institution should fail in

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its purpose for want of funds, for want of support to enable it to give to the youth of India that culture and learning which is so much to be desired. I will, therefore, only say for myself, remembering that I am here in a dual position, and I must be careful how far I commit myself, that I have been not only interested but also inspired by the programme of the development of this University. The Vice-Chancellor reminded me that, being Viceroy, I am ex-officio Lord Rector, but I am also Lord Rector because I am Viceroy. Here amongst you as Lord Rector, with that warm sympathy which so naturally radiates from the young to those who are interested in youth, I am minded to do much, but I recall that I cannot do it as Lord Rector, I can only do it as Viceroy. The Viceregal side of me must be cautious this day, and I will content myself with telling you how deeply interested I am in your work.

More especially I noticed that you have already instituted a system of teaching engineering and industrial chemistry, that provision is being made for the study, if it has not already taken effect, of minerals and metallurgy, and of many other subjects of a similar character. Further, I noted with great pleasure the desire of the University authorities to form a company of the University Training Corps of the Territorial Force in your midst.

THE STADIUM



H. E. LORD RECTOR'S ADDRESS

You, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, said that you hoped you might soon receive knowledge of the sanction. I am happy indeed to tell you that I bring you to-day the message of that full sanction, and in this capacity I speak as Viceroy. You will all understand as clearly as I do that such a company cannot of course be formed in a day, but my Government is anxious to offer every encouragement to this movement. It has therefore been decided to accord immediate sanction to the formation of one company, and steps will be taken at once to secure an adjutant, and to proceed with the scheme. I feel sure that the University will be able to find the necessary buildings including an armoury, and quarters for the instructional staff, so that the initial stages of this new undertaking may receive the encouragement it deserves at the very outset. I shall rejoice, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, with you if as a result of the institution of this corps it is found that many amongst the young men of the University will fit themselves for the service of their country by joining the University Training Corps, and making themselves ready to respond to the call for the defence of their country.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, before many days are over, you will be receiving a visit from His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. He, the Heir-Apparent, the son of the King-Emperor, a bright, attractive, and charming

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personality, comes here to India with only one object, that is, to learn, to know you, to understand your institutions, and to grasp the hand of India. I need not tell you, because I am sure you already know it, that there is no political object in his visit. Your opinions may differ, indeed I have indications that some of you do differ, and you give up none of your political controversies by receiving him, as I am sure you will, cordially and loyally. You in India remember the traditional courtesy you have always been enjoined to display towards your visitors, and you will know that, by the warmth of your welcome, you will be tendering to him your thanks for coming amongst you, and taking so early an opportunity, as the heir to the throne, of visiting and knowing you.

You, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, invited me to deliver an address as Lord Rector. But associated in my mind with a rectorial address is philosophic meditation, calm study and deliberate thought. Unfortunately the time and leisure necessary for these are absent, and Mr. Vice-Chancellor, when I considered my duties according to the Statute of your University, I could not detect in the language any obligation upon the Lord Rector to deliver a rectorial address. But, of course, I know that that does not dispose of the question. Your University authorities would not be lacking in the capacity of interpreting a statute according

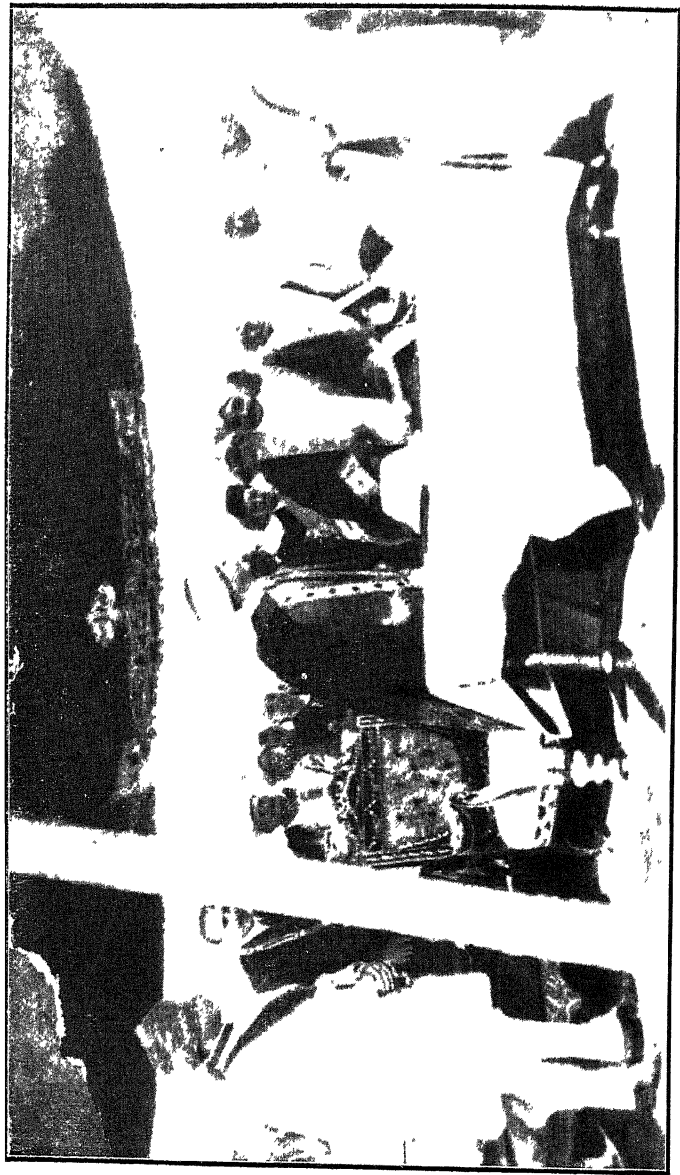
H. E. LORD RECTOR'S ADDRESS

to the prevailing spirit. Nevertheless, I understand the invitation springs from that courtesy which I have learned to expect in India, and which would naturally be distinctive in a university. But I have resisted the temptation. In the observations I have made to you, I could not help at times addressing you in one capacity and at other times in another, but whatever capacity I may adopt, in the end we come to the same ideas, and as I look around me to-day, I see those around me who bear the brunt of the teaching of the University and I see spread all round this assembly the students, the younger men, and it is to them that I would particularly address myself, perhaps because I think that I should sit better at the feet of your teachers than that I could myself inculcate any new knowledge to them. But to you young men there are one or two observations I would make, begging you to remember that we older people, strange as you may think it, and difficult as it may be to imagine, were all ourselves young once—and that we had probably the same thoughts, the same kind of ideas, that you have at this moment. I care little whether it is East or West the warm blood runs through you when you are young, and great aims follow immediately the thoughts of a great mind however young. I ask myself looking at you what part will you play in that future of India? I am not for one moment thinking of small

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differences of opinion in methods of reaching the common goal. I am thinking of the future of India, when I trust all the present minor controversies will have disappeared, when all having a lofty aim can work together for the benefit of India, having but one object in mind, to put India in the place which her numbers, her history, her traditions, and her religious spirit merit, to lift her high, so that she may rank in the councils of the Empire and of the world. You young men have it in your hands to do this. I beg you to bear these high aims well in mind, never to let small differences obscure your thought, or turn you from the great purpose, but to recall that you must set your minds to labour to the best of your ability for the benefit of India. The one grand ideal should always remain the same. Differences of method will mean nothing in a few years' time, and so march steadily forward, keeping before you as the aim to which you intend to devote your life, the welfare and the happiness of India.





HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, THE PRINCE OF WALES (NOW HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VIII)
RECEIVING THE HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTORATE OF LETTERS IN THE UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER XII.

His Majesty The King Emperor's Visit

The Benares Hindu University made grand preparations for the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on its grounds, where an amphitheatre accommodating 10,000 persons was specially erected for the purpose. Exactly at 11 a. m., on the 13th December, 1921, the Prince arrived at the University, where he was received by Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Mysore, Chancellor, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A., LL.B., Vice-Chancellor, Principal A. B. Dhruva, M.A., LL.B., Pro-Vice-Chancellor and Rai Ganga Ram Bahadur, M.V.O., C.I.E., Chief Engineer of the University. A procession, consisting of the Chancellor and other officers of the University and the staff of the Prince, led His Royal Highness to the *dais*, where had assembled members of the Court and the Senate of the University and other distinguished visitors. Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Alwar and Benares were also present. The proceedings began with a prayer.

His Highness the Chancellor, in delivering a speech, welcoming the Prince and requesting him to declare the buildings open, said :—

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‘Your Royal Highness,—It is my proud privilege, as Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, to preside at this important function when the University is honouring itself by conferring its highest degree on the illustrious Heir to the British Throne, and to extend on behalf of the University, which represents in a special degree the whole of Hindu India, a loyal and enthusiastic welcome to Your Royal Highness.

‘Your Highnesses, ladies and gentlemen, it is a time-honoured custom as well as a valued privilege for a University to honour, by the conferment of degrees, Royal personages and men of eminent learning or distinction in public life. But this Special Convocation for conferring the Doctor’s degree of the University on his Royal Highness has even a deeper meaning, for it is a token of love and homage offered to the representative of her sovereign and to her future emperor, by a Hindu University, in the holy city of the Hindus. Benares was a seat of learning when the ancient Kingdom of Taxila was young; and now twenty five centuries later, a University in the same city is striving to establish that intellectual bond between the East and West which Taxila initiated and on which depend today the hopes of the future of the Indian race. From early Buddhist times onwards, Benares has received the visit of princes and

HIS MAJESTY THE KING EMPEROR'S VISIT

members of royal houses who came as students and departed as doctors ; but the present visit of a Prince, in whom is centred the devotion of the many peoples and nations of the greatest empire in history, is the most memorable of all in the annals of this venerable city. It is but fitting that this University, as the repository of Hindu tradition in the religious capital of the Hindus should accord its royal welcome and its tribute of affection to the Prince who comes as the representative of his august father and whose visit at this critical juncture, in the evolution of India's national life, is a touching token of our beloved King-Emperor's genuine love for his Indian people, of his solicitude for their well-being and of his deep sympathy with their constitutional advance and progress, a proof, of "that one touch of nature which makes the whole world kin," and is the golden link which binds man to man and nation to nation. And here, Your Royal Highness, I recall with pride and admiration what is written large in the annals of your tour through different continents and among peoples of various races that gift of true sympathy and comradeship which has enabled Your Royal Highness with perfect ease and naturalness to be a Canadian to Canadians and an Australian to Australians—fit representative of a world empire which is, in truth, a league of many dominions and nations. It is for this reason that Your Royal Highness's tours have evoked

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a universal welcome like that which we offer to the sun and winds, a welcome springing from the human heart which never fails to be touched by those manly and generous qualities which are so conspicuous in Your Royal Highness. Your Royal Highness has not only consented to receive an honorary degree from this University, but has graciously undertaken to open the University buildings. I need not go into the history of the inauguration of the Benares Hindu University, but I would like to emphasize that the object with which it was founded was to preserve and popularise the best thought and culture of the Hindus and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India, as well as to diffuse the highest teachings of the progressive West, in art and science, among the youth of this country; in other words, to combine the best of the West with the best of the East, and we regard it as a happy augury for the fulfilment of this object, that Your Royal Highness should come as a noble representative of the West to co-operate with us in starting the University in its new home and becoming one of its honoured alumni. Your Royal Highness is familiar with the renowned Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and with other great modern Universities of Europe and America. Although our infant University can bear no comparison with these, its elder sisters, in its endowments, equipment and record of achieve-

HIS MAJESTY THE KING EMPEROR'S VISIT

ments, nevertheless, for the very reason that it is young, it yields to none of them in its passionate desire to provide itself with the means of promoting the highest learning and research; and, as the child is father to the man, even so, we hope that the Benares Hindu University will, under divine providence, develop in time into an institution worthy of the educational history and traditions of this ancient land. I now request Your Royal Highness to declare these buildings open."



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Address by His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.

Mr. Chancellor and Gentlemen,

I thank you for asking me to this ceremony to-day and for the high honour which you are about to confer on me by giving me a degree of your University and making me one of yourselves. I might enlarge on the theme of the great responsibilities of those who are entrusted with the good government of this University and of the staff whose teaching will mould future generations in India; but not so many years have passed since I was at the University myself as one of the taught and not as one of the teaching. So it is to the students in particular of this great foundation that I will address my remarks.

This city has an honoured name for learning; but your University differs from the older Universities like Oxford and Cambridge because they have centuries of fair traditions behind them. The latter can claim, despite the changes of time and fashions, to have established an atmosphere which still attracts the young men of Great Britain and the Empire in each succeeding generation and which is justly regarded as setting a special stamp on the mind and character.



His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Benares
Hindu University Academical Robes.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING EMPEROR'S VISIT

"If I can communicate to you today something of what I felt as an undergraduate about my University, it may help you in your careers and make you still prouder of your University, of which, I am sure, you are already proud.

"I think all English University men look back on their time at the University as the happiest year of their lives. When they go up, they have left behind them for the first time the sheltered care of home and the narrow discipline and limited experience of school life. They are for the first time out in the world. It is a world full of interest; full of splendid possibilities; everything is fresh; there has been no time to get tired of anything or to be disillusioned. The mind and spirits are in their most enthusiastic and receptive stage. Unhampered by doubts, they can definitely pronounce each thing as good or bad, and take or leave it. They readily receive the direct appeal to the imagination of fine ideas or of high standards of character and conduct. They have a delightful intimacy with hundreds of youngmen similarly situated out of which life-long friendships spring up.

"As the terms went by, we undergraduates began to feel the unseen presence of those who had left our college and made good in the world. Their influence was with us in our

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daily round—hundreds of them—men who had been undergraduates like ourselves, who had played in the same parks, who had rowed on the same river, who had attended the same lecture halls, who had worshipped in the same chapel. They had left the college and the Varsity. They had gone out into the world to become great statesmen or soldiers, poets or painters, writers or divines, men of science or learning, pioneers in industry or commerce. These were the men who had helped to make the Empire and helped to make us proud of it. This goodly company spurred us on. We made up our minds that no act or omission of ours should lower those great traditions. We knew that not everyone can be good at books or good at games or popular as a leader in the college, but we also knew that everyone can try his best to be or do all or some of these things ; and we resolved that one who tried should be honored and respected by his fellows, whatever their tastes, because he was keeping up the traditions of the college and the University. We went further and determined that men who did not try, were of no use to their college or the University. I think that this self-imposed standard, which we had inherited from countless previous generations of undergraduates, enabled us to get the best out of University life. I believe that it is these influences which gave a distinction, defying time or change to a training at the older Universities.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING EMPEROR'S VISIT

"Out in the world or the Empire, a University degree commands respect; but taken alone, its value is only relative: for there are other ways of acquiring knowledge and other tests of efficiency than a degree. If, however, a degree is coupled with the certainty that a man has had a university life of the right kind as well, its value is infinitely enhanced. Then, whatever your attainments may be, your fellowmen feel certain that you have a standard of character and conduct which wins through in any walk of life. In danger or difficulty, whether in private life or the larger life of a citizen of the Empire, they can rely on you to apply the clean tests and not to shirk the issue.

"You students of the University are to-day making the traditions of to-morrow. I trust that you may be able to feel about your University what I felt about mine; and that this feeling may be a source of strength and comfort to you in your lives and help to place your University among the great Universities of the world."

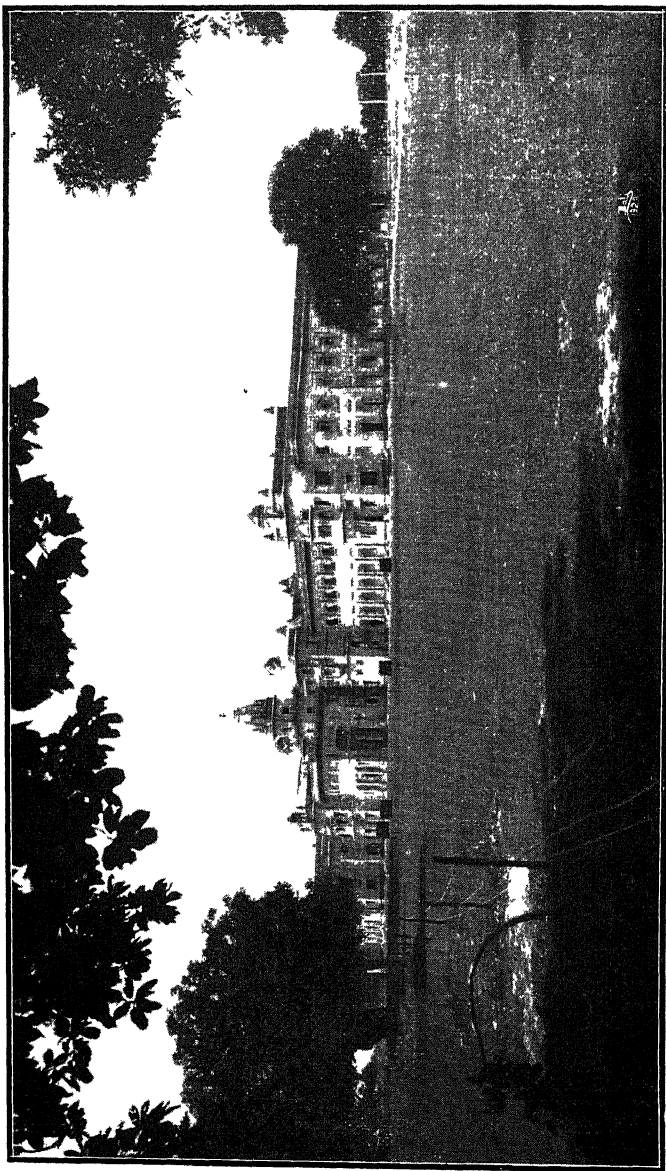
The Special Convocation was then declared open to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters of the Benares Hindu University upon the Prince. The Vice-Chancellor presented His Royal Highness to His Highness the Chancellor as a person who, by reason of

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his high attainments and position as the illustrious Heir to the British Throne, was eminently fitted to be honoured by the conferment of such degree. His Royal Highness stepped forward to receive the diploma from the Chancellor. While delivering the diploma His Highness the Chancellor said:—

“By virtue of the authority vested in me as Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, I confer upon you, Your Royal Highness, the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters of this University, and in token thereof I present this diploma and authorize you to wear the hood ordained as the insignia of your degree. I hope this degree will be a silken tie which will bind Your Royal Highness in sympathy with the youth of India in all their national aspirations, and will strengthen your interest in the civilization and culture and the progress and prosperity of the people,”

As His Royal Highness put on the academical robes prescribed for the degree by the University authorities, scarlet and old gold gown and hood and cream-coloured silk turban, there was an outburst of cheering on the part of the large Indian audience who saw in the head-dress a visible symbol of his having become one of themselves, by becoming a member of the Benares Hindu University.



ARTS COLLEGE

CHAPTER XIII

H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore's Convocation Address

‘Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before calling upon the Vice-Chancellor to deliver the annual address to this Convocation, I desire to express the great pleasure it gives me to revisit this University after a period of three years. I notice with deep satisfaction the remarkable expansion which the University has undergone in every direction, in teaching staff and organization, in college buildings and hostels, indeed in all the moral and material resources of a great modern University. I congratulate the University on the formation of an officers’ training corps, the sanction for which was announced by His Excellency the Viceroy in the sympathetic and inspiring speech which he made here a few days ago. I feel that we may rest assured that our University will find him a true friend and well-wisher. The historic ceremony which you witnessed yesterday marks as it were, the admission of the University of Benares to the franchise of the commonwealth of learning and the recognition of her claims to be the spokesman of a whole people’s cultural tradition. Her new responsibility demands that the University should

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make a searching examination of her programme, her resources to work out that programme and her present situation in the Indian academic world. Such an enquiry may immensely strengthen the position of the University. It may bring increased financial support from the public, by reviving zeal and confidence, and rousing the imagination of the country at a time of great distraction, doubt and difficulty.

‘The situation to-day may be described as follows: the movement for residential teaching universities has entered on a new phase in this country. The day of the smaller University is come, and some of the larger centralized universities may even break up into more local institutions for the purposes of what may be termed an intensive culture. In the United Provinces, for example, there will be four or even more universities, besides one or two technological institutes, which will carry on chemical and industrial research of an advanced character.

‘This University is a novel experiment in educational reconstruction. It seeks to conserve the vital and essential elements of Hindu learning and civilization, to adapt them to modern conditions and to make such enduring contributions to the solution of the world’s problems and difficulties as India is fitted to make by her long experience and history.

CHANCELLOR'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS

'The time has now come to ask how the Hindu University is equipping herself for her special mission. A clear vision of the genius of India, of the soul of the people, must be her inspiration. Has the University gathered, at this historic centre, a band of teachers preceptors, acharyas, and provided herself with the most up-to-date machinery in order to turn out nothing higher than the standardized B.A.'s and M.A.'s of the approved pattern? The answer is surely "No". True, there is the Oriental department and even a College of Theology, but what we must ask ourselves is how far our regular curricula and schemes of examination and the ideals of personal and social relationships, which the students of this University imbibe from the atmosphere of its halls and hostels, will foster and enliven all that is really inspiring in the Indian outlook upon life. Nor must a Hindu University, in its Oriental department, forget at the present day to welcome into the bosom of the Indian family the Buddhist Pali and the Jaina Prakrit literature. Benares must also endeavour to build up Indian schools of Tibetan, Chinese and Central Asian languages, which may serve to recover the vanished treasures of ancient and mediæval India. This is a pious duty which Benares cannot neglect.

'Equally insistent is another factor, that struggle for existence, that challenge of the modern world which a Hindu University must

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face, and face with sincerity and courage. The University has begun, and begun wisely with faculties in mechanical and electrical engineering, for, after all, industrial power, by which I mean not only machinery but also cheap hand power, is essential to the rebuilding of a sane and healthy life for the Indian people to-day. But we must not forget the masses in our Indian villages living by agriculture; the tillage of the soil, no less than the cultivation of mental and moral resources, must be given a prominent place in the organization of a Hindu University reflecting the form and impress of Indian life and surroundings. The Agricultural department will not, therefore, come a day too soon.

‘A Hindu University must prove itself equal to one more crucial test. The foundations of the old order, like the very foundations of the deep, are being broken up to-day, all over the world. Revolutionary doctrines, economic, social, political, educational, are being spread everywhere under a hundred different guises and names, and under a hundred banners. Everywhere there is spreading an under-current of revolt against order, progress, and reform. The old hope and faith, the old wisdom and charity, are being forsaken and forsworn. This is the great agony to-day, the agony of the world. It is for Hindu culture to try and root out the seeds of disorder. It was here at

CHANCELLOR'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS

Benares that the Buddha preached his first sermon and set in motion the wheel of the perfect law. Here Shankaracharya, Ramanuja, Kabir, brought deliverance to mankind in new and untried ways. India, the land which has preached and practised *ahimsa*, the land which has through the ages meditated on Maitri and uttered the great benediction Shanti, has India no message to the world? May we not look to the graduates of this University to go out into the world of humanity to endeavour by precept and example to raise the standard of morality and good citizenship?

‘Such are some of the problems which confront a Hindu University at Benares, and they cannot be solved without careful thought and deliberation. But if our University is to achieve anything in this direction it is imperative that her finances should be placed on sound basis. Without this, nothing great or durable can be done or even attempted. If the University is setting out on a great campaign, she must have not only money, the indispensable sinews of war, she must also husband her resources and beware of speculative schemes and barren or illusory projects.

‘Our urgent need of more funds has been and is being pressed forward in a campaign that knows no flagging and no reverse or retreat, thanks to the flaming zeal and

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persuasive eloquence of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who has, indeed, been the life and soul of this University ever since its inception and has rendered invaluable service as its Vice-Chancellor. Equally important with the quest of money are the upholding of a pure ideal of the Sanatana Dharma, the core and essence of Hindu culture, and the wide dissemination of right ideas as to the meaning and substance of that Dharma. Indeed, there can be no true Hindu University without such a movement of illumination, purification and revival. In this cause signal service has been rendered to this University, and to the promotion of constructive national education, which it represents by Annie Besant, the founder of the Central Hindu College and by the Maharaja of Darbhanga, one of our most munificent benefactors, and it is only right and proper that this University should express its grateful appreciation of their great services by conferring on them its highest degree, *honoris causa*.

‘Our Hindu University cannot survive unless she contributes to the reconstruction of life and social order in the India of to-day. She must quicken what is inert, illumine what is dark, rejuvenate what is old and withered. And even as the Eternal city, in which she has her home, is to the pious Hindu the meeting place of the Earth and Heaven so must the

CHANCELLOR'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS

University of Benares stand as the bridge between the past and present, between old and new, and, with the holy river at her side, link the India of the Vedic times with the India of the morrow that is to be.'



CHAPTER XIV

Maharaja of Alwar's Address

Your Highness the Chancellor, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Brethren :—

I address you in these intimate terms, for although I come from the portion of India which is divided by political boundaries and defined by the term "Indian States," there is the common tie of nationality which binds us together. This encourages me to rise before you despite the fact that the Vice-Chancellor has given me no previous notice—for I feel that in speaking to you I am addressing my fellow brethren.

I have come to Benares before as a pilgrim to our sacred Mother Ganges to wash my sins of omission and commission, but on this occasion I have come with three objects—firstly to pay my homage once again to our Mother, secondly to witness with my own eyes the first blossom of our ambitions and ideals cherished for our National University, and thirdly to witness the institution opened by the hands of no less a personage than His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

MAHARAJA OF ALWAR'S ADDRESS

The chief interest that I, and I think most of us Hindus, have taken in this University is because it promised to be different—as we want it to be different—and as we hope it will be different—from the ordinary Universities which give only secular education. Here in sacred Kashi we hope to make this Institution the cradle of our Dharma and the nursery of our spiritual aims—because these are the richest heritage of our Aryan race. Here we desire to see our Eastern civilisation which rests on such solid foundation aspiring to its lofty ideals of the past, yet assimilating the best that the West may have to give.

The question then before us is how is our goal to be reached. No doubt funds will play a large part, but this will not be such a difficult matter as some might conceive if we see—as I hope we shall do—that the University while teaching Science, Geology, Metallurgy, Metaphysics and so forth, makes adequate provision for moral and religious training. The education must be such as will enable our students to serve India as India needs to be served in these days, and ever more so in the future, by means of the most potent, the most powerful weapon in her armoury and which is her greatest hereditary treasure—namely “*love*”.

I came here to see how far these aspirations had fructified as they were twined round the foundation stone of this edifice when it was

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laid some five or six years ago. The advance our University buildings have made since then are an outstanding testimony of the indefatigable energy devoted to them by our Vice-Chancellor. I am now assured that the special feature of our Institution will also receive due consideration. I can then leave Kashi in the fervent hope that our University will soon be in a position to produce men brought up in the healthy atmosphere which I have so fondly pictured before you.

To-day some may seek Swaraj, others may look for political power, but my ambition goes further—for I aim at nothing less than the conquest of the world by the Hindu nation. Remember, however, that that victory is only attainable by one weapon, by the one and only instrument which is the touchstone and backbone of India. All nations possess in varying degrees different qualifications, but they, like individuals, excel in some particular class. France, for instance, leads in Science, America in Industry, Germany in Militarism and so forth. India for hundreds of centuries has dabbled in Science, in Art and so forth, but from time immemorial she has excelled in discovering and teaching the eternal truths of life. India has placed spirituality in the forefront of her progress and as a consequence she still lives where others have perished and will continue to live for the salvation of humanity.

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This aim, this conquest, which is my ambition—and which I pray may be the ambition of all the students of this institution—cannot, however, be achieved by force, or diplomacy, or even by dogmas or creeds. Indeed it can never be attained without sacrifice and self-realisation. I pray to the Almighty that He may guide us on our course that one day we may stand on the same glorious pedestal where our civilisation stood now some centuries ago, electrifying the world with that knowledge which is inherent in all but is realised by so few. I want to see India once again shine with lustre and radiance, so that her effulgence of knowledge and Love may conquer other material forces of the world for the good of life in general and for the benefit of mankind in particular.



CHAPTER XV

The Hon'ble Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee's Address, at the opening of the Law College

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Teachers, and Students.

Let me assure you at the outset that to me it is a great pleasure and privilege to address an audience in this great University whose progress and development are objects of solicitude to every Indian, whatever his race or creed. And not such a feeling animated me, I would have respectfully declined the difficult and delicate task which has been imposed on me, namely, to discourse to young aspirants for admission to the field of law on the study of their subject.

In order that you may not misunderstand my purpose, let me tell you at once that I shall not take upon myself the responsibility to advise you, my young friends, on the choice of a profession. The selection of what will be the vocation for life is about the most difficult task that presents itself to a young man, his guardians, friends and advisers; for, on the one hand, the choice is generally irrevocable; on the other, a mistake may be fatal. I am a

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believer in the doctrine that that is done best which is done gladly and with feelings of pleasure. If a man is compelled to follow a calling which is distasteful, because unsuited to his powers and inclination, he is liable to court failure from the start. Let me read to you the words of wisdom of John Ruskin :

“We are not sent into this world to do anything into which we cannot put our hearts. We have certain work to do for our bread, and that is to be done strenuously; other work to do for our delight, and that is to be done heartily; neither is to be done by halves or shifts, but with a will, and what is not worth this effort is not to be done at all.”

A young man should consequently look into his own heart before he chooses his profession. It is not for others to dictate, whether he will serve the community better if he selects one path rather than another, for instance, if he goes into law rather than into medicine. But, let me give an emphatic warning that there is no royal road to success in law. Law is not easy as a profession; its field is boundless; its boundaries are ever widening. The period of study and self-instruction never comes to an end in the department of law; even the most assiduous amongst us have realised from experience that the frontier

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of the domain of knowledge of law steadily recedes before each new step in advance.

You will not expect me, on the present occasion, to embark upon so perilous an adventure as the framing of a definition of the term "Law" which has baffled generations of jurists and publicists. I shall content myself with an extract from the famous opening passage of the Digest of Justinian :

"Law is the art of what is good and equitable, of which lawyers are deservedly called the priests, for they cultivate justice and profess a close knowledge of what is good and equitable, separating the equitable from the inequitable ; distinguishing the lawful from the unlawful ; desiring to make men good, not only from fear of punishment but also the influence of rewards ; maintaining, if I err not, a true, not a pretended philosophy."

Law is thus coeval with society and society cannot exist without law ; there is nothing higher or nobler, open to human effort, than the administration of justice and right between man and man, between the individual and the State. It is consequently the paramount duty of the lawyer to promote reverence for law. Laws may be unjust or unsuited to the times ; but so long as they stand unrepealed, it is the high office of the lawyer to see that they

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are respected and obeyed. Reverence for law makes for social order, which, in the words of an illustrious lawyer, must be the political religion of every progressive nation. Thus the opportunities of the lawyer for public service and social advancement are of no mean order. His natural opposition to absolute power makes him invaluable as a minister of justice, so that the forces for good government should be maintained everywhere in full and constant action. It is this aspect which makes the lawyer an object of dread to the class known as persons in authority. Let me remind you of a story of Peter the Great, who travelled far and wide with a view to ascertain by personal observation what had been accomplished by modern government. The great Emperor was so forcibly struck by the numbers and privileges of the English Bar, that he told one of his informants that there were only two lawyers in the Empire of Russia and he proposed to hang them on his return. From the standpoint of the Mighty Monarch that was no bad policy ; the lawyer is by nature and training unfriendly to absolute power ; for his activities are conditioned on the existence of a government of laws rather than of men. The story of Peter the Great may or may not be apocryphal : but its moral is reflected in a celebrated passage of an oration by the profoundest political thinker of the eighteenth century. Edmund Burke traced the untractable spirit of the American

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Colonists as the growth and effect of their system of education which included an extensive study of law:

“In no country, perhaps, in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces takes the lead. The greater number of deputies sent to Congress were lawyers. But all who read, and most do read, endeavour to obtain some mattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone’s Commentaries in America as in England. This study of the law renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defence, full of resources”—things not very agreeable to persons in authority.

De Tocqueville emphasised the same conclusion from a different standpoint:

“By birth and interest lawyers belong to the people; by habit and taste to the aristocracy; and they may be looked upon as the natural bond and connecting link of the two great classes of society. They are attached

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to the public order beyond any other consideration, and the best security of public order is authority. If they prize the free institutions of their country much, they value the legality of these institutions far more. They are less afraid of tyranny than of arbitrary power."

You will not be surprised to find that this ideal of the fighting quality of the lawyer—this fighting for other men—appealed to the Roman jurist as his true title to public regard. Listen to this passage from the Code of Justinian :

"Advocates who decide the doubtful fates of causes and by the strength of their defence often set up again that which had fallen, and restore that which was weakened, whether in public or in private concerns, protect mankind not less than if they saved country and home by battle and by wounds. For, in our warlike empire, we confide not in those alone who contend with swords, shields and breastplates, but in advocates also, for those who manage others' causes fight as, confident in the strength of glorious eloquence, they defend the hope and life and children of those in peril."

We must not, however, lay stress on this fighting aspect of the public service of the lawyer and disregard another function which is not only no less valuable but is indeed far

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more worthy of admiration. The lawyer as the peacemaker is by no means a rare phenomenon in the ranks of the profession, and there are many who adhere to the golden, eloquent injunction of Abraham Lincoln when he urged lawyers to keep their client out of Court whenever they could: "Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbours to compromise whenever you can. Point out to them how the nominal winner is often the real loser in fees, expenses and waste of time. As a peacemaker, the lawyer has a superior opportunity of becoming a good man. There will always be enough business. Never stir up litigation. A worse man can scarcely be found than one who does this." The lawyer has thus ample and diversified opportunity to shape the course of others in the conduct of life and through them the conduct of the community.

Let me next emphasise that law is neither a trade nor a solemn jugglery, but is a true and living science, and it is open to each and every one of you to love law as a science and to feel the full dignity of being a minister at its altars. We have opened a new chapter in the history of world and there has undoubtedly been no period during which the study of the law, in the broadest and most enlightened spirit possible, has been of equal importance, not only to the profession but also to society

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at large as it is constituted to-day. We are face to face with novel problems of diverse kinds, beyond the reach of the imagination of our ancestors; these problems require for their adequate solution a deep and wide knowledge of the principles of law. No true friend of our people will at this critical stage of the development of our national life retard, much less decry, the study of law; which, when rightly pursued, has the most liberalising effect. It is calculated to call into exercise the highest powers and capacities of the human mind; it is capable of that critical, historical and comparative treatment which is the glory of modern science, and surely it deserves a high rank in the curriculum of University studies along with political philosophy and sociology.

I have already indicated that a serious student of law must for ever abandon all hope of a life of ease: for no method has yet been discovered that will relieve him of the necessity of close application and serious study which must continue during the whole period of his active connection with his profession. In this domain of knowledge, at any rate, no true gospel has been found save that of hard labour. We cannot overlook that though books have multiplied and the bounds of human knowledge have been vastly extended, the human mind has made no corresponding

improvement, if, indeed, it has not, as some maintain lost its primitive vigour. It is not for me to judge, whether in every single department of learning the acquisition of accessible knowledge will exhaust the labours of the longest life. This, at any rate, may be affirmed that of all the branches of learning, none is more extensive or more complex than that of the law. Law had its origin in remote antiquity, and on the principle that law was made for man and not man for law, it has adapted itself, notwithstanding all the imperfections of its mode of development through ages, to all the wonderful complications of modern life. Trace its history, and you will discover, as others have done before you, that it embodies the constant longing of men for an ideal system of justice and bears within itself the marks, however obliterated by lapse of time, of long-forgotten social customs, conflicts and revolution. The story of this ever continuous struggle must be recalled by all who seek a proper understanding and interpretation of the law and harbour the honourable aspiration to associate which has attended his efforts to pursue this process of analysis and assimilation. Let then the student avoid with scrupulous care that self-deception which is destructive of all sound knowledge. He may delude his examiners and obtain admission to his degree; but let him rest assured that he will never delude the

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the judge, much less his adversary who will not be slow to take full advantage of his profound ignorance. He will then realise, when too late, that if a man commences practice without a knowledge of the principles of law, he never learns them afterwards. Let him not seek solace in the example of men of ability, who may have, in exceptional instances, attained distinction, though without liberal equipment; their careers would have been still more distinguished, their mark on their generation graven still deeper and their contributions to the wisdom of the world still weightier, had they the benefits of scientific legal training before they entered upon the arduous and responsible duties that awaited them.

It is impossible for me within the time at my disposal to speak to you about other matters of vital importance, such as the unlimited opportunities of the lawyer for public service and social advancement, specially in the role of judges and legislators; but let me emphasise that the members of the profession have been held responsible for evils which they have neither brought about nor seek to perpetuate. It is frequently overlooked that law must be administered as it exists, though, as a result, a Court of justice may, in rare cases and for the purpose of a particular judgment, be upbraided as a Court of injustice.

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The remedy lies, in very many of such instances, with the legislature, which, though influenced, cannot, for manifest reasons, be dominated by men trained in the principles of legal, political and social philosophy. Legislation, it may be conceded, must be in harmony with public opinion; but it is often ignored that the products of the legislature have a strange vitality and survive on the statute book long after public opinion has altered its course. It is the duty of the lawyer who has studied statutes as documents which set out the ideals of society that have been strong enough to reach that final form of expression, to assist in the change as the dominant will changes with the progress of the times from century to century.

Let me remind you finally of the famous estimate of the legal profession, made by Lord Bolingbroke, as "in its nature the noblest and most beneficial to mankind, and in its abuse and debasement the most sordid and the most pernicious." I shall not pause to consider whether this description may not be accurately applied to many a sphere of human activity. I shall only urge you to make an unhesitating choice of the only honourable of these alternatives. Read at large the biographies of illustrious lawyers, such fascinating works as Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors and of the Chief Justices of*

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England and Lewis's Lives of the Great American Lawyers. You will feel ennobled by the careers of men, who have risen from the ranks and consecrated themselves in the service of society, always striving to aid in the world-wide effort to make law and justice one and the same. Let me, in conclusion, place before you the ideal of the true ambition of the lawyer in the impressive language of an eminent judge :

“To serve man by diligent study and true counsel of the municipal law; to aid in solving the questions and guiding the business of society according to law; to fulfil his allotted part in protecting society and its members against wrong, in enforcing all rights and redressing all wrongs; and to answer before God and man, according to the scope of his office and duty, for the true and just administration of the municipal law. There go to this ambition, high integrity of character and life; inherent love of truth and right; intense sense of obedience, of subordination to law, because it is law; deep reverence of all authority, human and divine; generous sympathy with man and profound dependence on God. These we can all command. There should go high intelligence. That we cannot command. But every reasonable degree of intelligence can conquer adequate knowledge for meritorious service in the profession.”

CHAPTER XVI

H. H. Maharaja Gaekwad's Convocation Address

It is to me a very real privilege to address you as Chancellor of this our Hindu University of Benares. In inviting me to preside over Convocation you have done me an honour which I sincerely appreciate, for which I am most grateful.

It is but fitting that, occupying my present position as your Chancellor, I should voice my deep regret that we have been deprived, by the death of the great Gujarati Brahman, your first Vice-Chancellor, Sir Sunder Lal, of the aid and advice of one who was wholeheartedly devoted to our welfare, who was the most staunch of friends, and the wisest of guides.

Nor should I omit to record my delight in being afforded this opportunity of again meeting my friend Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. In him we have a guiding spirit who is possessed by a youthful energy which can never grow old, to whose courage, tenacity of purpose



H H THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAD OF BARODA,
SECOND CHANCELLOR

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and imagination, we owe much more than we can ever repay. This University is indeed fortunate in the possession of wise counsellors for the present and future, bitterly though it has to regret the Nestor who has passed from us to the beyond.

The Act which established this learned Foundation declares that it shall be a teaching and residential University; and that, while it will always be open to all classes, castes, and creeds, it will make special provision for religious instruction and examination in the Hindu religion. I am especially glad to emphasise the ideals conveyed by the words "teaching and residential", for they represent a return to ancient custom and practice. In the seventh century before Christ, in the famous University of Taxila (तक्षशिला) princes brahmans, and pupils of all classes from the length and breadth of this ancient land sat at the feet of their gurus to acquire all kinds of knowledge. Jivaka (जीवक), an orphan from the capital of Magadha (मगध), went to Taxila and there became proficient in medicine and surgery; so much so that he returned to Magadha as royal physician of the King, Bimbisara (बिम्बिसार). Four hundred years later, in the reign of the great Ashoka (अशोक) there was a residential University at Patliputra (पाटलीपुत्र), the modern Patna; and long after, in the seventh century of the Christian era, the

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well-known Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, was attracted to the famous University of Nalanda (नालन्दा), and there received instruction in the sacred books of Buddhism and Brahmanism. In those ancient days our universities were residential, and students of all classes and creeds were admitted, and encouraged to study the Hindu religion. Later, from the 8th century, that is from the Puranik (पौराणिक) period, there came a change which, I cannot but feel, has had results detrimental to our culture and to our realisations of nationality. There were, during this last period, universities at Navadvipa (नवद्वीप) in Bengal, and here in Benares; but in both admission was confined to Brahmans, students of any other caste being sternly excluded. Surely this exclusion of the great majority, in favour of a privileged few, goes far to explain our decadence in modern times. Let us be careful to avoid the error of confining our learning to any particular class; let us throw wide open the doors of this University as did our predecessors at Taxila and Nalanda. Let all freely come in to drink of the waters of our learning without stint. Then surely we should be able to make the magnificent gesture of brotherhood, embracing all the Hindu world with affectionate enthusiasm, welcoming every genuine effort to obtain more and more light and learning from our ancient and holy scriptures.

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We Hindus have good reason to pride ourselves on our glorious past. Is it not a fact that, while most of Europe was yet groping in the gloom of barbarism, our forefathers had achieved a flourishing civilisation? The Vedas, the Brahmans, the Upanishads, and the Sutras describe a condition of society in which there existed law, order and culture; in which wise statesmen attempted to give successful effect to the benevolent orders of rulers bent upon the good of their subjects; in which poets and philosophers gave of their best for the aesthetic advancement of enlightened courts. Mighty were the Empires of ancient Hinduism—and great was their fall! While we boast of our glorious past, let us remember that there must have been in it the seeds of our decline to our present inglorious position.

I believe emphatically that it is very wrong for us Hindus to follow blindly those who continually din into our ears the perfections of our past; who attribute our present weakness to our failure to live up to our past. Let us be frank, looking facts squarely in the face, sternly refusing to be blinded by any sentimental appeals. If this ancient civilisation of ours led us to a weakness which prevented us from successfully defending our country against invasion and capture, then there was in it something far from perfect. Let Hinduism arise from a contemplation of past glories to

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a vigorous and practical determination to cope with the difficulties of the present. By all means let us be enthusiastic students of the past, determined to wring from it all its secrets; but with equal, if not greater, enthusiasm let us prepare for the future. It is my ambition for our University that it shall become a fount of inspiration as regards both past and future.

Earnestly I trust that this University will take care to avoid that most terrible of errors, the narrowness of thought which in the end stifles, thought and individuality. In my travels I have come into contact with the magnificent Buddhistic culture of Japan and China. Learning that that great religion had originated in India, and that for centuries it had spread throughout our motherland, I found it difficult to explain to myself why we in the country of its origin knew so little about it. Buddhism went from India to be a vitalising force in far-distant lands; yet we Indians knew practically nothing of it. I have since striven to encourage a study of Buddhistic culture in my State. The University of Bombay, in which Culture struggles to make her voice heard in the midst of the roar of machinery and the clamour of commerce, has included in its curriculum Pali, the sacred language of Southern Buddhism. Throughout Gujarat and the Deccan there is a significant and steadily increasing interest in Buddhist thought. In

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the Jain Library of Patana, an ancient city in the north of my dominions, two most important books of Mahayana (महायान) Buddhism have recently been discovered, and are now being prepared for publication in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. My Library Department has fortunately been able to persuade our learned Pro-Vice-Chancellor to edit one of them. I trust that the Hindu University, in order that its studies in Hinduism may be complete, will include in its curriculum research work in Buddhist and Jain cultures, will indeed be catholic in its sympathetic attitude of enquiry towards all cultures.

As the Hindu University has declared as one of its chief motives devotion to the Hindu religion, it will be careful to give to the priests of the future an education which will fit them to be a real help to the future. We need, and we must by all means have, learned purohits and pious priests. What are priests worth to us, or to any, who chant the Vedas ignorant of the transcendent truths therein contained? Before they can minister to our innermost needs they must have taken up the duties of their sacred office from inclination rather than by reason of their birth; they must know the scriptures and their real meaning; and they must have an understanding of the world in which they and we live, its realities and difficulties. They must study

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other religions, in order that they may know and sympathise with the efforts which all are making to find an answer to that oldest of all questions, What is Truth? And, in order that superstition may be defeated, they must have a good general knowledge, including at least the elements of science.

A well-known classification of the Universities of the world groups them according to the mission fulfilled by them, be it the advancement of truth, the development of character, the making of the perfect man through the harmonious cultivation of his character, his heart, his good taste, or his efficient training for his vocation in life. It is good that our University aims at combining all these ideals; and that, while here we very properly lay great stress on the spiritual, we have not neglected the useful and practical. One of the greatest of the world's teachers has urged us to recognise the fact that the Useful is to be identified with the Good and the True. "Culture is only the passion for sweetness and light," and it is possessed by all who work honestly, who study diligently, be they priests or peasants, poets or engineers, historians or chemists. I am very glad to know that this University provides, side by side with the humanities, faculties of mechanical and electrical engineering; and that you are constantly endeavouring

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to improve the facilities which you possess for the imparting of scientific and technical training. We have vast resources in the soil, and indeed under it, in the mines of our country; and we need as many thoroughly trained men as we can obtain to assist us in utilising these rare and rich possessions for the good of our country, and for the furtherance of the happiness of our immense population. Faced as we are by keen competition from all over the world it is high time that we resolved to make the fullest possible use of Nature's gifts to us.

We must face the world like men, proud of our ancient heritage. Too long has the epithet "meek" seemed appropriate to us Hindus; too long have we put into practice that which others preach, the turning of the other cheek to the smiter. The essentially meek man may inspire love; he certainly cannot command respect. Aristotle preached the golden mean, and we should be well advised to learn from him that, while selfishness, ferocity, and pride, are very wrong, excessive timidity, meekness, and the refusal to make the best use of the aids and comforts which civilisation offers, are equally so. Let us as Hindus boast ourselves of our ancient past, at least to this extent; that we are determined to be men, even as our far-distant ancestors who lived when Chandragupta (चन्द्रगुप्त), Asoka

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(अशोक), or Vikramaditya (विक्रमादित्य) reigned, were men. In the words of the famous Lincoln "With malice towards none; with charity for all—let us strive on."

The purpose of all education is to fit men to play their parts on the stage of the world with efficiency; and, indeed if they have no parts to play, the efficiency with which their education has endowed them is likely to become atrophied. On the Indian stage our young men will be called upon to play parts of a far greater importance than were permitted to their fathers; more and more, as that day which has now dawned grows towards maturity, their parts will be those of leadership, not merely those of insignificance and inferiority. As they realise this, naturally enough a wave of excitement passes through their hearts. But, in days of change, of social and political enfranchisement, we especially need in our Universities to study to build up in our young men a character which will enable them to cultivate restraint in word and deed. For there can be no rights, no privileges, no genuine freedom, without corresponding duties, obligations, and self-restraint (संयम). I trust that you, members of this great University, will ever in your lives and conversation show that your influence and effort is on the side of order; that you know as a truth, which cannot be denied, that practical service is far more

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patriotic than mere eloquence, however glib of tongue; that you appreciate the fact that freedom, if allowed to degenerate into license' is worse than the most rigorous tyranny.

Fate compels us, whether we like it or not, to play our part in the struggles of the nations; and we must, as men, use all our energies and powers if we would survive the cataclysms which rage beyond the seas and beyond the mountain passes. To say that we are living in a period of transition is so true to-day that it cannot too often be insisted upon. We are "wandering between two worlds; one dead, the other powerless to be born." In such days as these we cannot afford to stand aside with folded hands, watching the storms gather and break upon us, eventually to overwhelm us buried in meditation and fancied security. I appeal to you young men, future citizens, to follow those leaders who aim at practical achievement.

It is a real pleasure to me to know that our University does not close her doors to women. Especially here in Northern India, where the seclusion of females is so strict a custom, the fact that a few have been found seeking and receiving admission to our lecture rooms is a most welcome sign of a rapidly approaching change. It is almost incredible that Hindus who, in ancient days prided

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themselves on Gargi (गार्गी) and Maitreyi (मैत्रेयी); who regarded with reverent admiration the Jain and Buddhist nuns, who did much for the literature and general culture of the country, could yet, in a degenerate time, so far forget as to utter curse upon curse against any woman attempting to study the Hindu religion. To a yet more marked extent there is another very large section of our people appealing to our intelligence to free them from disabilities to which a hard custom has condemned them, the Sudras (शूद्र) and Ati-Sudras (अतिशूद्र). It is impossible for us to justify our treatment of these unhappy millions. I am glad to know that the Hindu Maha Sabha has undertaken a solution of this pressing problem; and I beg of you, members of this enlightened University, as you value our good repute amongst the learned of the world, to put no bar in the way of any Hindu of good character and high motive who desires here to learn our ancient ritual and our holy scriptures. Neither sex nor caste should be a hinderance to the acquirement of Hindu culture.

Yet another matter which I desire to place before you for consideration is concerned with foreign travel. It is, I think, most important that we should encourage our people to travel abroad, to make themselves acquainted with other lands, other races, other cultures. Why have we acquired the dislike to travel

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over the seas? It is a comparatively recent growth in our opinions. Our ancestors, the Indian traders, the Buddhist missionaries and teachers, travelled far and wide spreading our ancient culture throughout Asia. We had, so far from remembering their achievements with pride, forgotten them so completely that, but for the efforts of European archæologists and orientalist we should know nothing about them. This mediæval attempt of ours to keep ourselves in dignified seclusion has cost us more than we shall ever know. The proverbial toad in the well had not its vision more confined than have those who refuse to contemplate the pulsing life of the countries over-seas. Inter-course with the great trading nations is necessary to us for the extension of our resources, for the enlargement of our horizon, and for the recovery of that initiative which we are said to have lost. Let us go abroad again to recover it. Some will reply that there are many Indians of a world-wide reputation for their great gifts in all branches of intellectual achievement who have never visited the lands beyond the seas, whose knowledge of other countries is and has been based on their reading, or on information derived at the second-hand from others. I cordially agree. But I am convinced that, had they added to their great natural talents the breadth of mind and elasticity of imagination which must result from travel, from personal experience and

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observation of the manners and customs of other nations, they must have increased enormously their powers for good.

13. Finally I ask, what place in the whole of India could serve so well as a fountain of inspiration to a Hindu University as Benares? Here it was, in the Park of Deer (मृगदाव) that the Divine Buddha preached the first sermon on the Law of Righteousness, and from this spot that mighty religion spread far and wide. To Kashi came the mighty Shankara, and triumphantly preached his transcendent doctrine of cosmic Māyā. To Kashi still come the pilgrims, from all parts of India, from Tibet, China, Japan, Siam, Burma, and Ceylon, to seek purification and redemption. The neighbourhood of Kashi is still rich with a chaos of ruins amidst which the wandering pilgrim is sure at every step to stumble against recollections hallowed by age, "to hear tongues in trees, sermons in stones, and books in running brooks." Kashi echoes, and re-echoes, our ancient glories. She has withstood the march of centuries upon centuries; still she survives, and Hinduism with her. I pray that this Eternal City may be rich again with a new Jnana-Vapi (ज्ञानवापि), the spring whence shall rise a constantly flowing stream of culture for the infinite refreshment of our people. May the Almighty preserve this Vishwa Vidyalaya (विश्वविद्यालय) under the shelter of

MAHARAJA GAEKWAD'S ADDRESS

His powerful wing, secure against all the
changes and chances of the passing years.
And may :—

“The world's great age begin anew,
The golden years return.”



CHAPTER XVII

Sir J. C. Bose's Address

At the foundation of your University nine years ago, you honoured me by your request to deliver one of the inaugural addresses; you have conferred on me a still higher honour by asking me to deliver the convocation address on the present occasion. I should have been on my way to attend another meeting in Europe in which one of the items on the agenda is the part to be taken by India in the intellectual advancement of the future. My prior engagement with you made me postpone the attendance at the other place. I have come here to pay my tribute to the great work in which you are engaged and to the untiring energy of one by whose faith and persistence the national will has found this concrete expression.

Your choice in asking me to address you is not to talk didactically on what should be your duties, but rather to tell you what my long struggles in life had taught me, so that my actual experience may be of some help to those whose ways may be not clear. For your difficulties have been mine for more than a third of a century. You will, above all, expect me to tell you what my investigations have taught me in regard to the

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conditions which either exalt or depress the power manifested in all activities of life.

The life of the tree may be taken as a parable of our corporate life. The tree is not a mere congeries of unrelated parts but an organised unity. In our world organism, a shock from the most distant corner reaches all the rest and organises them anew. In the life of the tree also a provision has been made for the stimulus of external shocks to reach the interior so that the organism may not die of inanition. It is essential that the different organs should be coordinated for the advantage of the community ; for any disharmony means the destruction of the commonwealth.

The tree persists, because it is rooted deeply in its own soil which is the place of its birth. It is its own soil that provides its proper nourishment and endows it with strength in struggling against the waves of change and disaster that have passed over it. The shocks from outside have never been able to overpower it but have only called forth its nascent powers. It had met eternal change by counterchange. The decaying and effete have been cast off as worn leaves and changing times have called forth its power of readjustment. Its racial memory has also been an additional source of strength, every particle of the embryo within the seed may thus bear

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thee deep impress of the mighty banyan tree. The sprouting seedling thus forces its roots into the yielding earth to anchor it more safely, the stem rises high against the sky in search of light and the branches with their canopy of leaves spread out in all directions.

What is the source of strength that confers on the tree its great powers of endurance by which it emerges victorious from all peril? It is the strength derived from the place of its birth, its perception and quick readjustment to change, and its inherited memory of the past. The efflorescence of life is then the supreme gift of the place and its associations. Isolated from these what fate awaits the poor wretch nurtured only in alien thought and ways? Death dogs his footsteps and annihilation is the inevitable end.

Is there any such strength for the constant renewal of our national life? Is the past to remain as a mere memory, or is it to be a dynamic power to be awakened up once more in a new pulse of enthusiasm? That there has been such a latent power is proved by this ancient seat of learning with its unbroken history of intellectual effort for nearly four thousand years. There is then something in Indian culture which is possessed of extraordinary latent strength by which it had resisted the ravage of time, and the destructive

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changes which have swept over the earth. And indeed a capacity to endure through infinite transformations must be innate in that mighty civilization which has seen the intellectual life of the Nile valley, of Assyria and of Babylon wax and wane and disappear and which to-day gazes on the future with the same invincible faith with which it met the changing problems in the past.

Let this not lead us into easy complacency ; for our national life is now at its ebb, and the perils with which we are confronted are even greater than at any other time. We must find out what has been India's strength in the past, and what is the weakness that has paralysed her activities.

Critics have denied India's capacity in advancing positive knowledge. It has been urged that this country had been dominated by an intolerant theocratic spirit, which insisted on acceptance of authority in place of dictates of reason ; that the exact method of science was purely Western and therefore alien to the national culture ; that there could be no general spread of true learning in a country so vast and so hopelessly divided ; and that there had been no intellectual kinship among her diverse peoples, and no intellectual continuity between the past and the present. These biassed assertions, on one side, have been met by

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assertions perhaps equally dogmatic, on the other. Where lay the truth ?

It was only after I had journeyed as one of a pilgrim band, through the length and breadth of India many times, from Dwarka in the west to Puri in the east, from Rameswaram in the south to Kedarnath in the north, that I came to realise the true significance of the past and the hopes for the future, and also the bond which linked the country in a great unity.

Returning to the question of unfavourable conditions which thwart the advance of knowledge, it is perfectly true that nothing could be more detrimental than a narrow theological bias, and intolerance in accepting new facts and doctrines which run counter to orthodox theory. This is best illustrated from the history of the conflict of religion and science in the West. Every one knows Galileo's recantation under compulsion and Bruno being burnt at the stake for his advanced scientific opinions. A few months ago the teaching of evolution was penalised in a certain state of progressive America. It is also notorious how extremely difficult it is to obtain a hearing for new truths which contradict existing theories.

It may now be asked whether theological bias in India obstructed the pursuit of inquiry. The fact is well known that two different schools

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of thought flourished here side by side, one of which relied on faith and was supported by established authority. The other based itself on pure reason and refused to accept anything which could not be substantiated by demonstrable truth. It is remarkable that the unorthodox were in no way persecuted for their heresy. The existence of Providence dependent on man's condescending patronage may have been regarded as tantamount to blasphemy. It was probably realised that He Who has surrounded us with the ever-evolving mystery of creation, enclosing within the microcosm of the dust particle the wonders of the cosmos, has also implanted in us the desire to question and to understand.

In regard to the force of authority being chiefly utilised in suppression of truth, I was deeply moved by a tradition in this place of learning that the lamps representing different branches of learning in ancient times were kept lighted, by their votaries, as a bold challenge for the rest of the world. The lamp was put out in acknowledgment of defeat if any antagonist even from distant countries was in the intellectual contest. It was only after the rise of a still greater intellect in this place, that the lamp could be relit once more. Could there have been any finer symbolism of supremacy and freedom of intellect? It must be a sign of decadence that could talk of petty

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achievements, forgetful of the greatest of all, the unique gift of freedom of inquiry that had been bequeathed to us.

The great intellectual movements moreover were not confined to any particular province. For the torch of learning was kept lighted for many centuries in the great universities of Taxila in the western frontier, in Nalanda in the north and in Conjeeveram in the south. Nor did geographic barrier or communal difference of any kind offer any obstacle to the intellectual communion of different peoples. Sankaracharya was acclaimed everywhere during his march of intellectual conquest of all countries from the south to the extreme north. The scholars from Bangadesh, with a few palm-leaf manuscripts as their sole treasure, had crossed over the impassable Himalayan barrier, inspired by love and service, to carry Indian love to Tibet, to China and to the further East. That tradition is not lost even in the present day; for all provinces are sending their leaders of thought from one end of the country to the other keeping alive the bond of unity and kinship. Those who have read history rightly realise the great assimilative power of Indian civilisation by which many races and people came to regard this country as their home. And it is by their joint efforts that will be built the greater India yet to be.

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It would be our worst enemy who would wish us to live only on the glories of the past and to die off from the face of the earth in sheer passivity. By continuous achievements alone could we justify our great ancestry. We do not honour our ancestors by the false claim that they were omniscient and had nothing more to learn. Do we realise how unremitting must have been their efforts in slow building of the edifice of knowledge? The achievements of many centuries appear now as focussed in one plane and give no idea of the long vista of time. Even after what they had achieved, they had the greatness to declare that even the Vedas are to be rejected if they do not conform to truth. They urged in favour to persistent efforts for the discovery of physical causes yet unknown, since to them nothing was extra-physical but merely mysterious, because of the hitherto unascertained cause. They had the true Sanyasi's spirit which utterly controls the body in the pursuit of their quest, never for a moment letting it be obscured by any territorial temptation. That spirit is now lost, there must therefore be a new force of rejuvenescence, and renewed activity in all spheres of life to shake off that lethargy which is a fore-runner of death. This reviving force must come from within, the portent of which is being found in the quickened national consciousness.

Knowledge is never the exclusive

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possession of any favoured race; the whole world is inter-dependent and a constant stream of thought had through ages enriched the common heritage of mankind. India in the past had given out her best for the enrichment of the world. Is that power now lost for ever? Let us confine our attention to the advancement of exact scientific knowledge. The specific acquirements for making great discoveries are vivid inner vision, great faculties of invention and experimental skill of the highest order. Aimless experimentation brings forth no great result; unrestrained imagination, on the other hand, leads to the wildest speculation, subversive of intellectual sanity. A true enquirer has at every step to compare his own thought with the external fact; he has to remorselessly abandon all in which these are not agreed. In this path of self-restraint and verification, he is making for a region of surpassing wonder. When the visible light ends he still follows the invisible. When the note of audible reaches the unheard even then he gathers the tremulous message. Undaunted by the imitation of our senses, he creates artificial organs of unimaginable sensitiveness which requires great genius of invention and skill of construction. It is enough to say that Indian workers have shown special aptitude in advancing science, by their faculty of introspection, of experimental skill and power of invention.

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The excessive specialisation of modern science has led to the danger of our losing sight of the fundamental truth that there are not sciences, but a single science that includes all. India from her habit of mind is specially fitted to realise this wider synthesis. One of the greatest contributions in the realm of science would undoubtedly be the establishment of a great generalisation, not merely speculative, but based on actual demonstration, that the life reactions of the plant were identical with that of the animal. This great generalisation has been fully established by the investigations which have been carried out in India. In other fields, also, important advances have been made by the labours of devoted workers in different parts of India.

There are two great dangers which imperil the country. The first arises from foreign aggression and from internal disorder; without peace no advance is possible in national development. The students will fail in their primary duty as future citizens unless they enrol themselves in the University Corps for necessary training. They should welcome great hardship and severe discipline by which alone they can attain their true manhood.

The second danger is immediate and very wide spread. Unemployment and severe economic distress is the cause of unrest here as

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in other parts of the world, only it is far more acute here than anywhere else. It is hunger that drives people to desperation and to the destruction of all that has been built up for ordered progress. It is tragic that our country, with its great potential mineral wealth and possibilities of industrial development, should be in this plight. Mining and industrial development by our countrymen, on which the prosperity of the country so profoundly depends, have so long been paralysed by assertions as ignorant as they are unfounded, that this country is incapable of producing great discoverers and inventors. These assertions have now been completely disproved. There are now a very large number of young men who could be especially trained in efficiently conducted institutes, the standard of which should bear comparison with any in the world. It should also be our aim, as of any self-respecting country, to be independent of foreign countries for our higher education and for our economic needs. For carrying out such a programme a far-sighted and comprehensive state-policy would be required.

The multiplication of universities is a sign of growth in intellectual life; but there are certain dangers which must be guarded against from the very beginning. Instead of the advancement of knowledge as the only goal, they may lead to the accentuation of communal

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differences, and the academies of learning may thus degenerate into different centres for the exploitation of narrow propagandist zeal. Instead of rivalry, there should be friendly emulation among sister universities. Each would be expected to specialise in advancing a particular branch of knowledge, there being full facilities for exchange of professors and scholars.

I have been and am still a student, and, in spite of years am thrilled with youthful emotion in the pursuit of great adventures. I chose teaching not as a profession, but as the highest vocation. It has been my rare privilege that the student community all over India should have claimed me as their guide and friend. And in return for this trust, I can do nothing less than tell you the highest I know. I will not appeal to your weakness but to your strength. I will therefore not set before you what is easy, but use all compulsion for your choice of the most difficult. The heritage of the past will help you in your uphill way; but you are not to be slave of the past but the true inheritors of its wisdom.

Many misgivings are agitating your mind; some of you thought of setting yourself adrift from the restraint imposed in a place of learning, mistaking the necessary discipline as coercion in ensuring a spirit of subserviency.

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Did you ever realise that the most irresistible force is that which is held in restraint, and that this is the only period of your life when you can acquire habits of restraint and of discipline. Is there any power that can suppress the freedom of thought and of mind; Would ignorance rather than knowledge help you in serving the country? Real strength and power in shaping your future life can only come after years of restraint. It is not cotton-wool protection, but the shock of adversity that will strengthen every fibre of your being. You will not allow your strength to be wasted in words for there will then be nothing left to build your character. Do not repeat by rote the message that came from the past; that is meant as an injunction to transform your life. It is not for you to lay down law for others; the only law that is given you to enforce is on yourselves. The weakling who has refused to take part in the conflict, having acquired nothing, has nothing to give or renounce. He alone who has striven and won can enrich the world by giving away the fruits of his victorious experience. It was action and not passivity that was glorified in heroic India of the past, and the greatest illumination came even in the field of battle. There can be no happiness for any of us, unless it has been won for others. When a great call is echoing through the lands, we cannot lead a life of ignoble ease, or even seek personal salvation.

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Rather would we wish to be said when the
great Barrier is lifted :

‘How shall we say, “God rest him” ?
Of him who loved not rest
But the pathless plunge in the forest
And the pauseless quest
And the call of the billowing mountains
Crest beyond crest ?
Hope rather, God will give him
His spirit’s need
Rapture of ceaseless motion
That is rest indeed.
As the cataract sleeps on the cliff-side
White with speed
So shall his soul go ranging
For ever, swift and wide,
With a strong man’s rejoicing
As he loved to ride
But all our days are poorer
For the part of him that died.’



CHAPTER XVIII

Dr. Sir C. V. Raman's Address

"Being an Honorary Professor of the Benares Hindu University, I have to regard the invitation to address you this afternoon as a call of duty rather than as an honour. I might perhaps even say that the call comes as a rebuke for my having allowed nearly three years to elapse since my last visit to Benares. I will not however accuse myself by making excuses for this apparent remissness on my part. It is sufficient to remark that during a considerable part of this period, I have been, to use old-fashioned language, a peripatetic philosopher, or in more modern language a carpet-bag scientist who goes about, from place to place, lecturing here, there and everywhere, and seeing the world. My task as a traveller has not been altogether an unpleasant one. It has taken me far and wide. It has taken me twice across the American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific and back, once through Canada and once through the United States. It has taken me through northern, western and southern Europe, and last of all it has taken me through mysterious Russia from the Baltic to the Caspian and back. In these travels it has been

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my privilege to come into contact with many men of science of the highest distinction, and discourse with them on problems of scientific research and education. It has been possible for me to visit the most renowned centres of scientific research and many Universities in the two continents. These have been of the most diverse types. Some of the Universities, I visited, as for instance, Upsala in Sweden, are hoary with age, others as for instance, Chicago, are of more recent origin but might well be described as youthful giants; some Universities as for instance, those in Western Canada are the creation of the State and are run entirely by the money of the tax-payer, while others again, as for instance, Stanford University in California are the result of the philanthropy of a single man and enshrine his love of learning. As I said just now, these travels have taken me far and wide, and now I find myself once more amidst you. But, ladies and gentlemen, I need hardly assure you, that while far from Benares, in distant lands, among strangers, I was never far from Benares in thought and mind.

Many a time when travelling in America, I was called upon to speak of India's ancient civilization and of her new renaissance. They were anxious to hear of our country. When I accepted such invitations, I had to unfold a picture of our people, to paint in words India

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as she was and as she is to-day. Do you think I spoke of Madras or of Calcutta? No! I spoke of Kashi, of Benares, of the historic city on the ridge overlooking the Ganges which stands as the very heart of India, as the living centre of our ancient culture and learning. I spoke of the new University which has sprung up, so fitly, at this age-old seat of learning and is the living embodiment of the aspirations of new India. That was the message I gave to America. Coming back now here and looking round, the question naturally arises to one's mind how does our University stand to-day? I confess my feelings are a mixture of pleasure and pain. I am filled with pleasure at seeing the remarkable growth of the University, of the strides it has made forward, and is making towards the realisation of those great and practical ideals which your Vice-Chancellor has in view. I am pained because even his devotion, even his self-sacrifice and earnest labour have not completed yet the task of building up that University as he and you and I all wish to see.

You may perhaps ask me what lessons have these travels brought home to me, what message have I to give you this afternoon? You have just heard the exhortation from the lips of your Vice-Chancellor addressed to your graduates to think, speak, and act the truth. Standing here, I cannot but follow his injunction.

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Let us first look at the bright side of the picture. Many of the universities I visited are great centres of scholarship; some of them are of great age; others have the advantage of an exceptionally favourable natural situation; some again are extremely well-equipped for research; others are very richly endowed, and so on. Having seen them, I can say that the Benares Hindu University has no reason to feel ashamed of itself or to fear comparison with them. When saying this, I am referring, not to all the advantages mentioned, but to the one thing most vital to a University, that is the breadth and strength of the ideals which animate its activities. In this respect, we have nothing to be ashamed of.

But there is another side to the picture. The growth of our university has been phenomenal. The Princes and peoples of India have been generous in responding to the call when the needs of the University were urged by the Vice-Chancellor. But much remains to be done in order that the future of the University as a centre of learning may be fully assured. To mention only one very important matter, we require a dozen University Professors to be fully endowed, one in each major branch of knowledge. Such endowments would enable the services of the most eminent teachers in India to be obtained and retained for the University, and by stabilising the finances of

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the University enable its work to be carried on under conditions satisfactory to the teacher and the taught alike. I can imagine no worthier manner in which a donor's name can be associated with the University than by the creation of such endowed chairs. What more can I do than add my feeble voice to the voice of your Vice-Chancellor in appealing to all patrons of learning in India to come forward and generously support the work of the University?

“Sir, I have been asked by you to address the Convocation. May I remind you that the Convocation includes the Vice-Chancellor, and venture therefore first to address you particularly? I hope you will not take it amiss. We in all parts of India—I am now talking as a Calcutta man—have followed with great admiration the success you have so far achieved in building up this University. We regard you as one of the greatest of those who have helped to make India what she is to-day. Sir, you have rendered conspicuous service to India in many different capacities. This is not the time or the place to speak on all that you have done in these capacities. But I may venture to tell you that there is nothing for which you are responsible which is more remarkable than the creation of this great centre of learning. It stands as a unique achievement which entitles you to a very

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special place in our esteem and gratitude. I now appeal to you, Sir, with all the force that I can command, that you should put every other task aside and devote yourself wholly to the carrying out that work forward to completion and making that great vision which inspired your labours an accomplished fact in all respects. In saying this, may I venture to remark that there are others, younger than you, who have the strength to guide the destinies of India in the other fields of your activity and can be trusted to shoulder those burdens. But there is none, if I may venture to say so, other than yourself who can undertake this task of making the Benares Hindu University what it ought to be. Sir, in giving praise where praise is due, one should also have the courage to criticize where necessary, though, in order to be useful, such criticism should be constructive. If in the course of my address this afternoon I have occasionally to use forcible language, pray do not for a moment imagine that I am guilty of any feeling of disrespect to our people or our institutions.

I cannot address you in a better way than by telling you a story of my visit to England in the year 1921. I went to Cambridge and met by appointment Sir Ernest Rutherford, the great Cambridge Physicist-whose name is honoured wherever science is studied. He

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received me with great cordiality and showed me over the Cavendish Laboratory. We then walked home to his house through the streets of Cambridge. It was a bright sunny day and a great many students were playing in the College grounds. I remarked to Sir Ernest, a little mischievously,—“It seems to me Cambridge is a place for play and not for study”. Sir Earnest turned round and said: “We do not try to grow bookworms here. We train men who can govern an Empire”. That was his spirited reply, which I shall not easily forget. Those words may well be the motto of a University. It is not the function of a University to grow book worms. The function of a University is to train men to serve their country and above all to train those who can become leaders, leaders of science, leaders of Industry, leaders in all other fields of activity.

Let us be frank and ask ourselves “Are the Universities in India merely nurseries for book-worms, or are they really trying to train men for the highest functions which they may be called upon to perform ?” Before answering this question, let me tell you another story, this time from the Pacific Coast in California. I was invited by R. A. Millikan, the great American physicist, not merely to visit his laboratory at Pasadena but also to accept an appointment on the Professorial staff of the California Institute of Technology for a whole

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term. I may mention that the physical laboratory attached to this institute is the foremost of all such laboratories in the United States. I accepted the invitation and lived in the Club attached to the Institute and lectured every day in the same way as other members of its staff. I had thus an opportunity, such as rarely comes to a casual visitor, to come in direct touch with the true American temperament, life and outlook. I was profoundly impressed during my stay at Pasadena with the attention paid to the military training of the students, and the results of such training. Rarely a day passed in which I did not see in the campus of the Institute at all hours, groups of students marching, drilling, learning to shoot and perform the duties of a soldier. Indeed, it might have seemed that the students were training to become professional soldiers, and not, as in reality they were, electrical engineers. The conviction was borne in upon me by actual contact with the students of that Institute that nothing helps a young man to acquire physical stamina, discipline and a right outlook on life so much as military training. I regard military training as an essential part of any scheme of education in a University. Nothing is more necessary at the present day than the introduction of compulsory military training of an intensive type for every student in our Indian Universities. I have no doubt that if this is

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done, the experiment would prove an absolute success and do more to build up the character and strength of the rising generation than the study of a whole library of books. Pray do not imagine however, that I consider the function of a University to be the training of soldiers. I advocate military training purely as an educational measure bearing in mind its benefit to the individual on the physical side, for without a solid foundation of physical strength and stamina, no strenuous activity of any kind is possible. I have no doubt myself, however, that if all soldiers were University men thus trained, they would be just as good soldiers and we should hear less of the brutalities and horrors of war.

On the intellectual side, the development of the faculties by use and not the mere acquisition of knowledge should be in the forefront as the object of education. This distinction is most vital and its importance is greatest when we reach the University stage of education. Speaking of it, I am reminded of another great Indian who is no longer with us but who did wonderful work in advancing the intellectual outlook of our Indian Universities. I am referring to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. He realised that the function of a University is not merely to train students to be book worms. In case you do not realise what I mean, I will ask you to remember that a

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bookworm consumes books but produces only dust. A true scholar does not merely consume knowledge but also produces knowledge. He does not merely absorb but also radiates. Sir Asutosh understood this and set before himself as his life-work the task of creating an organisation that would teach men to become radiators and producers of knowledge. His great work has not perished. But there is a danger that the new spirit which he tried to infuse into our Universities may die for lack of nourishment. Our Universities are so engrossed today with the task of conducting examinations and with innumerable meetings of Boards and Faculties, Courts and Councils, Senates and Syndicates that they have no time or energy left to perform the highest function of a University which is to stimulate intellectual activity and advance knowledge. There is a danger today of its being forgotten that examinations and Faculty meetings are only means to an end and not an end in themselves. There is a danger to-day of the production and advancement of knowledge receding into the back-ground in the intellectual outlook of our Universities, of their being regarded as something beautiful and great, like the white snow in the top of the Himalayas, to be admired from a distance but not to be grasped or touched. I think this idea prevails today not only amongst those outside academic circles but also amongst some

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of those who claim to control our Universities and ought to know better.

Let me remind you that we live today not in the age of the Vedas and the Upanishads, we live in a modern age, we live in an age of research, a period of intense striving to create new realms of thought, to penetrate the mystery of Nature by the use of all intellectual and material forces under human command. During the last hundred years vast fields of new knowledge have been discovered and cultivated, and everything points to an increasingly vigorous advance into regions as yet unknown. We in India as a people cannot afford merely to stand by and be passive spectators of this remarkable outburst of human activity. To stand aside would be to confess ourselves an effete and worn out people, fit only to be laid on the shelf and suffer economic and political extinction.

Though this is an important consideration, yet it is not the only one to be taken into account. I ask you to look at research from another standpoint. What is research? It is the seeking after knowledge, and must therefore be of the most fundamental significance in all schemes of education. You must remember that knowledge at the present day is not a dead knowledge enshrined in books but a living and growing knowledge

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with which we are all concerned. Can you imagine for a moment that living knowledge can be procured, can be obtained merely by the study of books by turning your teachers and students into bookworms? No, Your teachers and your students have to take part in that stream of human activity which I have referred to. A University is not a University if this is not understood, if this is not daily practised. A University is not a University but only a high school if the advancement of knowledge is not continually kept in sight as a duty of teachers and students alike. It is in the attempt to discover new facts or new relations between known facts, which we call research, that a true insight into a new and growing body of knowledge is obtained. You must be one of the seekers, or else you will get left behind. There can be no sitting on the fence. You must be in it or out of it. You cannot tell the depth of the river or learn to swim in it by standing on the bank and watching it flow by, but must pluck up courage and plunge into it. So long as our teachers and our students are not inspired in their daily work by such ideals, so long as it is not research but administration that dominates the outlook of our Universities, we can hope for no great advance either in the intellectual output of India or the quality of the work done in our centres of learning. The encouragement and development of research forms one

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of the most urgent problems facing us today in India.

What is necessary now is an awakening and a realisation of the immense importance and urgency of the problem and the creation of a new outlook in our Universities. We must mobilize the human and material resources available for the development of research in India. To pay mere lip-service to the importance of research is of no use. We have to devise practical measures by which it can be made an essential part of the work of our Universities.

The record of intellectual activity in India during the past fifty years, depressingly small though it be, yet shows some signs of hope for the future, some indications of the dawn of a new era. Looking back over the period, perhaps the brightest ray of light that meets our eye is the remarkable, though to our sorrow, all too brief a career of the late Mr. Ramanujan. His work bears the unmistakable stamp of genius, and in its quality is not unworthy of being set side by side with that of the greatest mathematicians of Europe. Any practical scheme for the development of research in India must be based on a knowledge of the facts concerning research known by experience of the last century. The human factor in research dominates all others. The

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case of Mr. Ramanujan is one illustration of the striking fact revealed by the study of the careers of scientific men during the past century concerning the relation between the age of a man and the character of his scientific work. A very remarkable proportion of all strikingly original work has been done by comparatively young men. The reason for this is not far to seek. It is the young man, receptive and enthusiastic, who brings to bear on the problems of science a fresh outlook and ventures to enter with courage and energy, fields where the caution of the older worker may draw him back. Speaking broadly, it may be said that a man's most brilliant ideas come to him when he is young, say between the age of twenty-five and thirty-five. The later period, up to say middle age is largely taken up with following the trail blazed out in the earlier years and the work done in it makes up by maturity of judgment resulting from wider experience anything that it may lack in brilliancy or originality. Even at middle age, however, exceptional individuals with a favourable environment, may show great intellectual power and brilliancy. Sooner or later, however, age begins to tell and with the weakening of the receptive faculty so essential to the investigator, the power to make significant contributions to knowledge wanes. Experience teaches that men of sixty often make admirable statesmen and administrators.

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But they hardly count as leaders of scientific research. At that age, there is only one thing for a University Professor to do, and that is to retire with honour from his chair and become a Vice-Chancellor.

Science then teaches us the gospel of youth. Rightly viewed one sees here a great encouragement to our young men fresh from our Universities to exert themselves and to exercise their intellectual gifts while yet there is time and before they grow rusty from disuse. These facts have also an obvious lesson for our publicists and others who control the funds available for research. To be really productive money should be spent in providing opportunities for the work of men who are comparatively young or else are yet in the prime of life and have given proof of possessing originality and power to initiate new lines of advance. Any well-thought out scheme for the promotion of research in India would include the provision of National Research Fellowships on an extensive scale for young men between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five who have given proof in their University career of real originality and power to do independent work. Such fellowships would enable young men, who would otherwise drift to some kind of routine employment, to devote themselves to research during the best years of their lives. They would form the nucleus from which could be recruited

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the Professoriate of our Colleges and Universities and the technical staff required for the development of manufacture and industry.

I can hardly think of any better way in which money can be spent today in India than by the payment of scholarships and fellowships to highly-qualified young men capable of doing independent original work, and the payment of money actually required for the equipment of research laboratories and research libraries. Money spent on these objects will sooner or later repay itself manifold. The promotion of research should be an urgent and insistent claim both on the generosity of private donors, and on the liberality of those responsible for the administration of public funds in India. At the same time, it is well to urge that the utmost discrimination should be exercised in the award of such financial assistance. Particularly with regard to the expenditure of public money it is necessary to prescribe such safeguards as would ensure the available funds being distributed in the most economic manner so as to secure the maximum of results.

It would be well to form an Advisory Council for Research in India composed of scientific men both official and non-official, whose advice would be sought with regard to the distribution of grants to individuals or institutions. Such a Council may be trusted

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not to overlook the claims of the capable but comparatively less known workers whose work may be of equal scientific importance but, unlike that of the better-known men, is hampered by want of even the slenderest resources. It should also be laid down, as a general principle that whenever State aid is given for research to an institution, it should be made the first condition that fully audited accounts of such an institution are published, and that the fullest details are furnished in the accounts of how the grants given are expended. Failing such stringent audit control, there is a great danger that funds allocated for research are not expended on the purposes for which they are granted and are thus diverted from channels in which they can be more profitably utilized.

I would urge on patrons of learning throughout India that they should found in connection with the Benares Hindu University, suitable research fellowships in different branches of science. Such fellowships would be a great accession of strength to the academic work of the University and enable Benares in due course of time to take rank with the leading Universities of the world.

Something can be done by our Indian Universities for the promotion of research even with the existing resources. In my opinion no person should be appointed to teach

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science to College classes who has not spent at least two years in an approved research laboratory studying modern developments and presented a thesis embodying the results of such study. Such teachers as already hold College appointments and have not had experience of modern developments in research should be encouraged to take study leave for a year and deputed to work under some eminent specialist or other. Such men when they return to their College should be encouraged to continue their work in a selected field of research and thus to remain in touch with the living spirit of science. It is a mistake to imagine that research cannot be carried on except with resources and materials altogether beyond the financial resources of an ordinary College. Much can be done even with modest resources by men who have obtained the necessary knowledge and skill by working in the more highly organized laboratories. A little assistance given to such men in aid of their work will often go a very long way.

The ethics of scientific research is a matter on which but little has been said or written in India. This subject has many phases some of which are of vital importance. One aspect of the ethics of research touches upon the relations between a professor and his students or assistants. It is fatally easy for a scientific man who has reached eminence to

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reduce the workers in his laboratory to a position of complete intellectual subordination and in fact to turn them into mere mechanical assistants. Much depends on the type of workers chosen. Unless they are youngmen of real brilliance and independence of mind and are allowed the greatest freedom in the exercise of initiative, the degeneration of so-called research scholars into routine assistants is almost automatic. Scientific men are not unknown who in choosing "scholars" regard independence and originality as disqualifications. Such men do not found schools. Usually however when both professor and student are men of high calibre, the relations between them are of the happiest and are beneficial to both.

Another important aspect of the ethics of research is the attitude of the man of science towards the results of any of his work. Research is best carried on for its own sake. Indeed the history of science teaches us that research may confer benefits of the highest importance on the human race, as witness the work of a Faraday or of a Pasteur, and that such benefits often accrue when they are not specially sought for. There is nothing sordid however in the investigation of Nature directly with a view to harness her forces for practical benefit. I would warn my young friends very specially against regarding research as a

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pathway to self-advertisement and self-glorification. Self-advertisement, for whatever reason it may be pursued, soon becomes an end in itself, and its results are most evil when seemingly it is most successful. The man of science who habitually indulges in it soon comes to believe in his own perfection and infallibility and loses that clearness of vision and power of rigid self-criticism essential to an investigator. Self-praise is scientific suicide.

There are other aspects of the subject on which I could speak. I must remember, however, that your patience is not unlimited, and will therefore conclude my address with a few words regarding the Benares Hindu University. I see in this University which seeks to bring together our ancient culture and the knowledge of the new age, a great instrument for the up-lifting of the new age, a great instrument for the uplifting of our country and for cementing together the people of India into a single nation. I see in it a centre of learning with the greatest potentialities for the intellectual, moral and material welfare of our countrymen. I would urge on you, graduates, to remember with pride that you are the alumni of a University which is truly a National University of India, a University in which students and teachers from all parts of India learn to live and work together. I would urge you, Sir, and every one present

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here, not to rest, until you have done your utmost to make our Benares the greatest and most truly Imperial University in India, a centre of culture such as we should all justly feel proud of, to make it what you and I and every one else would wish it to be. I recall with pleasure and pride that what is now the University with its magnificent colleges, hostels and residences and with its avenues and roads was, not many years ago, just open fields. Much has been done. But much still remains to be done. I earnestly appeal to the Princes and people of India, to the Imperial and Provincial Governments to be generous to an Institution which can justly claim to be the most outstanding effort of educational idealism in the modern history of India, and to help to make it worthy of the Indian people.





H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER
PRESENT CHANCELIOR

CHAPTER XIX

Maharaja of Bikaner's Address

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Senators and Graduates of the Benares Hindu University, Ladies and Gentlemen :

Let me thank you very cordially for inviting me to preside at your Convocation this year. It is a privilege which I highly cherish; and I rejoice at the opportunity which it affords me of renewing my acquaintance with this ancient Seat of Learning.

I do not come to you as quite a stranger. It is now sixteen years that I was first intimately associated with the Scheme of founding a Hindu University when—charged with a message from that great and noble-minded Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, of sympathy and goodwill for the great cause—I had the privilege of urging the claims of an Academy that would enshrine whatever was of the best in ancient Hindu Culture before a large public gathering assembled at Calcutta. Four years later, we had the satisfaction to see the seed then sown sprouting and giving promise of a healthy and vigorous life. Associated as I have been from the earliest commencement with all the preliminary vicissitudes that

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alternately helped or hindered the birth of this Great University, I was privileged to be present at the laying of its Foundation Stone at the hands of Lord Hardinge in 1916. In 1920 I was again in your midst and was able to attend the series of learned discourses, and to partake of the intellectual fare, so generously provided by the Academy. The ties which bind me to you are dear to me and they have brought me again before you this evening. If, except for occasional visits, I have not been able to come and see you more frequently, it was not because of any lack of interest but due to reasons of State and health, over which I had no control.

Benares has always exercised a peculiar fascination on me. I have always looked up to Varanasi as the home of Hindu Culture, the Seat of Divine Learning and the heart of Hindu civilization. The abode of our Lord Vishwanath—the Father of the Universe and the Creator—resplendent, Kashi has always been regarded as the Sanctum Sanctorum of a pious Hindu. Its sacred Ghats, constantly laved by the ripples of the sacred Ganga serve as a fountain of inspiration to the pious imagination of the devotee; and the ancient Gyan-Vapi has even now not ceased to well up with memories of hoary traditions of antiquity. The ambition of bridging the gulf between the old and the new, of bringing about an alliance between antiquity

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and modernity like a confluence between the Varna and the Assi has all along inspired the eminent pioneers of this noble Institution with a religious zeal that command universal respect; and when I realise how this great idea has in such a short time fructified in this imposing pile of edifices on the banks of the Assi, I feel convinced that the promoters of this new ideal of a Residential Teaching University have not been mere dreaming idealists. The various Schools of Literature and Science housed in this noble array of buildings, which we see before us spread out in charming prospect, have all manifested signs of healthy and vigorous development, which is a good augury for the future. The progress already achieved by this young University, in spite of a decade of unparalleled financial depression and world turmoil, ought to satisfy the most impatient and ardent reformer; and the pious spirit of Faith and Hope with which its founders have braved an epoch of exceptional stress and storm must evoke our admiration and respect.

The Benares Hindu University has made ample provision for imparting advanced academic education in various branches, which compares very favourably with the literary fare provided at the other Sister Universities in this country. Besides including a study of Hindu Religion, Ancient Hindu Polity and Hindu Civics in its curriculum on the side of

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Humanities, Scientific subjects like Geology, Mining and Metallurgy, as well as Industrial Chemistry, have found a place within its portals and useful provision is being made for cultivating a spirit of Original Research through the conveniences of well-equipped laboratories and finely assorted workshops. The School of Engineering is a special and strong feature of the Benares University which draws students in large numbers from far and near for practical training in Mechanical and Electric Engineering. Upwards of 2,000 students have been already enrolled on the lists of the various Schools and Sections constituting this large Unitary and Teaching University.

At the same time, though much has been done, it must not be forgotten that more yet remains to be done. The Faculty of Agriculture has yet to be added to the Course of Training. The art of making two blades grow where one grew before has a peculiar value for our Country which is mainly agricultural; and problems of rural re-construction must engage the early and earnest attention of every true lover of the Country. Problems of land cultivation and crop experiments, of improvement of the implements of tillage and of adoption of labour-saving devices and the latest mechanical contrivances for the extraction of the maximum return from the

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soil at the minimum of cost must receive increasing attention in course of time. The deliberations of the Royal Agriculture Commission will throw new light on the several questions connected with Agriculture and Irrigation and they deserve—and will no doubt receive—adequate attention at the hands of the University authorities. Then there is the Faculty of Commerce which ought also soon to engage the minds of the organisers of this Great University. All these developments, however, mean money and the Hindu University is not suffering from any glut of this precious metal. The financial condition of the University has been causing some anxiety for several years past and this aspect has no less to be borne in mind. Your devoted and zealous Vice-Chancellor, my friend the veteran Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya—to whom this Benares Hindu University is most deeply indebted and who has dedicated his life and life-work to this noble mission—has lately issued an appeal for a Second Crore. I join my faint but earnest voice to his impassioned and laudable appeal to all true Hindus and real patriots of the Country to contribute their mite towards the fulfilment of this high ideal. No philanthropic cause could be more sacred than the feeding and fostering of this Hindu University. If our private charities were more organised and better discernment and discrimination used in the selection of

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worthy objects for the countless charitable public Trusts that our benevolent countrymen have at their disposal, the collection of a Second Crore need not baffle us as altogether beyond our reach. Strenuous effort is no doubt needed ; but there is hardly any problem, however stupendous, that can appal or stagger the soul of a real patriot, a true lover of Learning and a selfless seeker after Truth.

We cannot indefinitely feed our various Schools on mere Faith and Hope. They require the sinews of war and they cannot be kept long without adequate sustenance. However worthy our objects and ideals may be, prudence cannot allow them to outrun our financial resources. Should our appeal not meet with adequate response, then, instead of extending and filling out, it may be prudent—indeed necessary—to curtail our activities and endeavour only intensive culture for the time being till the financial prospects become more promising and cheerful. A clever surgeon is he who knows where and when to apply the knife. Pruning and weeding are useful operations that help the healthy growth of the plant. But I decline to believe that our Hindu community will sit with folded hands and allow such a measure to come to pass.

At the same time, it might be prudent to specialise the University in a few particular

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branches of study so as to save overlapping of functions and re-duplication of effort. The scope of the Hindu University ought to be defined so that each University could cultivate that Branch and excel in its equipment for that particular subject. Our aim and endeavour should be the glory of God and relief of man's estate. If we ponder seriously, I am sure, we shall find that there is no real conflict between Religion and Science. It is no doubt true that undue emphasis of the claims of Faith may clash with, and drown the voice of Reason; and any scheme of studies which subordinates the claims of the rational faculty to the dictates of authority must end in stagnation and decay. We are living in a world of the wireless and aeroplanes and this era of scientific renaissance could not possibly have been ushered in by the Schoolmen of the Medieval Ages, who delighted in logomachies about Form and Substance, Concept and Name, Identity and Difference. The ancient Universities of Taxila and Nalanda hummed with polemical wrangles about the vanity of the cosmos, nescience about the acosmic reality, and the existence of a future world; but it is open to question whether they really contributed much to the advancement of our ascendancy over Nature in this world. If we desire to understand the mysteries of Nature, we have to accost her and force her into a corner under the air-pump and extort or wring out her

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secrets. Bhartrihari, the 'Royal Sage, sang of the impossibility of weaving ropes from the rays of the sun or of pressing out oil from sand. Our present day victories in the field of Science have achieved even more. If Bhartrihari were to visit the world in his new incarnation today, he would stand aghast at the uses to which we have put the Solar and various other Rays in the service of man. Science has not only annihilated space ; she has lengthened life, she has minimised danger, she has controlled lunacy and trampled disease. She restores eyes to the blind and hearing to the deaf. She has enlisted the sunbeam in her service to limn for us with absolute fidelity the faces of the friends we love and transmit the picture from across the Seas. She has harnessed the lightning for the conveyance of our message to the other end of the world and has enabled our vision to penetrate to the bowels of the earth to find out what priceless treasures are embedded below. It is in this Department of Science that much remains still to be done in our Indian Universities and this you can only achieve if you perfect your laboratories and study Nature in her manifold manifestations. Cultivate a spirit of Research, of Observation and Experiment and your conquest over the elements of Nature would be materially assured. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not discourage the study of Spiritual Dialectics; the problem whether our soul has three dimensions or four is no

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doubt fascinating ; but it can hardly be disputed that as its name implies Metaphysics must come after Physics.

Equally insistent is the claim of Physical Culture. Any Scheme of Education in order to be complete, comprehensive and all embracing must include the culture of the body as well as of mind. "Sound mind in a sound body" has been an adage too much profaned as much by over-iteration as by under-observance. I am gratified to find that the claims of the human body have been receiving due attention from the Hindu University authorities ; but what I do wish as a soldier to emphasise on this occasion is the value of regular Military Training. Besides serving as a course of healthy physical exercise, such a training would instil a love of discipline and an *espiride corp* among the *alumni* of this Great Institution. A spirit of comradeship, of sportsmanship and of brotherly sympathy is essentially needed at this juncture ; and with a course of Military Training super-added to its academic achievements the Hindu University Corps would not only be of immense service to the Country, but as a Unit of the Territorial Militia could always place its loyal services at the disposal of His Imperial Majesty—our beloved King-Emperor.

Loyalty to your Country and your King is one of the primary civic duties enjoined by

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every writer on Jurisprudence. It is the foundation of law and order and as good citizens it should be your first concern to foster and uphold this cardinal virtue. Fidelity to the Sovereign is among the fundamental duties prescribed by the Hindu Dharmashastras and I charge you, Young Students of the Hindu University, ever in your life and conversation you prove yourselves worthy of the proud *alma mater* which starts you on your life's career this day. Let loyalty to our beloved King-Emperor be the priceless ornament in the character of every Graduate turned out by our University. It is up to you jealously to guard against this matchless jewel being dimmed or tarnished by seductive writings of the advocates of anarchy and chaos however fascinating they may be.

Let your Professors and Instructors at the same time remember that their object is not merely the imparting of advanced education; it is also, if not more, the formation of a sound and steady character. The value of a Residential University can best be demonstrated in the facilities it can afford for the building up of good character. Let your goal be the culture of "Self-reverence, Self-knowledge, Self-control; which three alone lead to Sovereign power". One cannot fail to be struck with the mistaken notions about liberty that often prevail in the minds of some young

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men. True Liberty consists in freedom to do what one ought, not freedom to do what one wills, which only deteriorates into license and wanton depravity. Learn to control yourself; for moral self-government alone can prepare you for any higher form of political self-government. Cultivate the habit of self-reverence. We have indeed every reason to be proud of our ancestors, our ancient culture and our glorious civilisation; but do not let any undue bias for antiquity deter you from your duty to posterity. Reverence for the ancient Aryavarta can never be incompatible with an eager solicitude for the elevation and regeneration of Mother India. But with this end in view "Act, act in the living present"; and "above all to thine ownself be true; so that thou canst not then be false to any man". Service and Sacrifice ought to be the twin vows of your modern Brahmacharya. Our land has been well-known for its spirit of Chivalry. If that Age has gone from the present day Western World of Sophisters and Economists, let not that same canker eat up the vitals of our ancient culture. Never fail to set a high value on a habit of deference and reverence to your elders and of proud submission to rank and sex which is the true test of an abiding civilisation.

The value of high character and sublime moral ideals is incalculable at the present day.

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We are passing through critical times. An era of transition has ever been an era of trouble, travail and turmoil owing to the dethronement of old ideals and the effete incapacity of the new ideals to take their place. India is hovering between two worlds in our time; the one as dead as Queen Anne, the other yet 'too powerless to be born.' The greater is the necessity of wise caution and robust commonsense. We must live at peace with our fellow subjects—our Moslem brethren; for pray do not forget that though we are divided by Religion, we are all Indians first and foremost and Hindus and Moslems and everything else only afterwards. Our communal tension has unfortunately become a veritable cancer and must be radically cut off if we want to preserve our national life. Our popular Viceroy, Lord Irwin—a good, religious man—has sent forth in all earnest his exhortation for mutual understanding and racial reconciliation. Let not that sage counsel fall upon deaf ears. Remember that Life is only a compromise. Let us all realise that the high road to national greatness lies along the old highway of steadfast well-doing all round and they who are the most persistent and work in the truest spirit of general well-being will invariably be the most successful. Success treads on the heels of only righteous endeavour.

Philosophers and Educationists have

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proclaimed how our environments and surroundings mould human character and shape our destiny; and in this respect you, fortunate *alumni* of the Kashi Vishwa Vidyalaya, are well-favoured and richly endowed. For what can be more holy than Kashi, which succeeded in attracting Lord Gautama Buddha whose first lesson on the Doctrine of Divine Mercy and Universal Brotherhood was initiated in the Deer Park at Sarnath. What can be more inspiring than the sacred Waters of Mother Ganga that are even now credited in this Iron Age of Doubt and Disbelief with supreme healing powers for all our ills, both of mind and body. You are now leaving your Brahmacharya Ashram. Go forth into the World out of the portals of this great institution with this rich dowry of Divine Inspiration and you will be admirably fitted to wed that "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God"—Duty—in the Great life's journey that lies at your feet.



CHAPTER XX

Maharaja of Jodhpur's Address

"Mr. Vice-Chancellor and members of The University, Ladies and Gentlemen :

"Let me first acknowledge the kind and cordial welcome which you have extended to me. If my presence here is in any way gratifying to you, as you have been good enough to assure me is the case, not only by your words of greeting, but also by the warmth and friendliness with which you have received me, let me assure you that it is certainly no less gratifying to me to be here. It is a very proud moment for me to be allowed to perform this ceremony ; and to be associated in this manner with this magnificent University, which situated as it is within HOLY KASHI—this ancient seat of learning and place of pilgrimage, of the Hindu race—is almost inevitably destined to become the womb, as it were, of modern Hindu learning and development.

His Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the last session of the Chamber of Princes reminded the Indian Rulers present of their position in the Greater India of which



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Pro-Chancellor

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they form a part ; and it seems to me that the general attitude of the Indian Rulers, in that particular respect, cannot be better exemplified than by the share that many have taken, with their voluntary contributions amounting to about half a crore of rupees, in the promotion of this great University.

The subject of Education is a large one, and every possible view of its aims and methods has been put forward at one time or another. But I think few will be inclined to dispute that Education in India has hitherto tended to force the youth of this vast country into one or two particular moulds, and sent them forth into the world, ill-prepared for efficient service outside the scope of two or three professions, which can only furnish a sphere for the activities of a few. Much of the intellectual talent that is born to industry, and to the development of the resources of the country, is diverted from those aims, and consigned to comparatively fruitless labour, the value of which, when it comes to be properly estimated, is unimportant in comparison with what might, under other guidance, have been accomplished. The distinctly technical knowledge required for agriculture, forestry, engineering, etc. is now receiving much closer attention ; and the mere sight around us of so many magnificent buildings, with their absorbingly interesting contents, devoted to modern science teaching, fills one

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with thoughts of the illimitable field of development and prosperity that they must open up and serve. I join with you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, in emphasizing the importance of the study of modern sciences. They are necessary to meet the advances of Time, which will not stand still. I congratulate you on the success which this University has already attained in this direction, and on all your good promise for the future. The large financial aid which I understand the Government of India generously intends to give you is indeed a bright prospect.

In conclusion I should like to add a word about one whom all will readily acclaim to be the mainspring of all the activity and monumental endeavour to be seen around them here. I refer to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, the Vice-Chancellor of the University. I cannot but think of him as one of those really fortunate persons—so rare in life—who have been spared to see the visible fruits of a life's work. The world is full of instances of those who have loved what they believed to be a great ideal and worked for it, but have vanished from the scene of human activity without having seen their desire fulfilled. With the Pandit Sahib, Providence has fortunately decreed otherwise. Having become obsessed with a great cause, and having pursued it with unconquerable zeal and effort, it may in

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all truth be said, that he has magnificently seen of the travail of his soul, and been satisfied, and I am sure we all here wish him a futher and fuller measure of that supreme satisfaction.



CHAPTER XXI

Pandit M. M. Malaviya's Address

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This is the twelfth Convocation of the Benares Hindu University. It was in October 1917 that the University started its work. In the twelve years that have elapsed much progress has been recorded. The ideal of the University was an institution which should revive the best traditions of the ancient *gurukulas* of India—like those of Takshasila and Nalanda, where Hindu sages taught and fed ten thousand students at a time—and which should combine with them the best traditions of the modern Universities of the West where the highest instruction is imparted in Arts, Science and Technology.

The objects of the University were thus formulated:

- (i) To promote the study of the Hindu Shastras and of Samskrit Literature generally as a means of preserving and popularising for the benefit of the Hindus in particular and of the world at large in general, the best thought and culture of the

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Hindus, and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India ;

(ii) to promote learning and research generally in arts and science in all branches ;

(iii) to advance and diffuse such scientific, technical and professional knowledge, combined with the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous industries and in developing the material resources of the country ; and

(iv) to promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.

It is hardly necessary for me to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, why the place of honour was given in the scheme to the first of these objects. We have had a proud lineage, and a proud heritage from our ancient forefathers. Of the various noble things we have inherited, the Samskrit language and literature is the noblest. In it are preserved all our sacred literature, all our religious philosophy, all the records of our ancient civilization and culture in all its rich and varied manifestations,

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containing a complete scheme of society, providing for the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual welfare of individuals and for their organization into powerful communities. As a language Samskrit is acknowledged, by those most competent to judge, to stand pre-eminent among the languages of the world. It has been the medium of expression of the most sublime thoughts conceived by man and uttered in the most elegant and majestic forms. It has been elaborated with such a keen sense of the laws of harmony that it stands unrivalled as the most economic means of recording, conveying and remembering knowledge. Its study, as remarked by Sir Monier Williams, "involves a mental discipline not to be surpassed". We therefore conceived it to be our sacred duty to make satisfactory provision at the proposed new centre of learning of our race, for the study of this noble language and literature, as the most potent means of preserving the spiritual sense of the continuity of ages, of a fellowship with the past and present, by which our most cherished national treasure may yet be best utilized for the good of our people and of the world at large and handed down from generation to generation. It is for these reasons that in our scheme of studies, Hindu Theology and Samskrit learning occupied the first place. It is therefore that in conferring degrees at our Convocations scholars who have

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studied Theology and Samskrit learning take precedence over all other scholars.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that we have secured the co-operation in the work of these Faculties of the best Pandits who are to be found in India. These revered repositories of ancient learning help us in prescribing courses and examining students, and a number of them are imparting regular instruction in our colleges of Theology and Oriental Learning in the Vedas, Vedangas, Darshanas, in literature, in Mathematics and Astronomy and in Ayurveda. We have been attracting students in increasing numbers. In conformity with our ancient national practice, we offer them free education, free accommodation, and free board, to the bulk of them in the shape of scholarships, so that they can carry on their studies here under the most favourable conditions on the lines of our ancient *gurukulas*.

We encourage students of Sanskrit to study English as a second language, and allow them to offer it as a subject by itself for the Intermediate and the degree examinations. We contemplate taking further steps to offer greater facilities for study and research to students of the Oriental department.

Ever since the idea of the Hindu University was conceived it has been an article of

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faith with its promoters that the medium of instruction, even in the highest classes should be the mother-tongue of the people. But the use of English has become universal in our anglo-vernacular middle and high schools, and Indian vernaculars have been too much neglected. The replacement of English by Hindi, or by any other of our vernaculars, must therefore necessarily take time. The work must begin in our schools. The Hindu University introduced this important change some years ago. In schools affiliated to the University, instruction is imparted in all subjects, except a language, by means of Hindi. Students appearing at the Admission Examination of the University—the final High School examination—are permitted to answer their papers in Hindi. It is a matter of satisfaction that this healthy change has been decided upon by the Board of High School and Intermediate Education of the United Provinces also. I have every hope that it will be adopted before long by other Universities.

A band of our scholars is now engaged in preparing text-books in arts, science and medical subjects in Hindi for use in the Intermediate college classes of the University. It is expected that a sufficient number of them will be ready for use next year. Our scholars will then take up the preparation of text-books for the B. A. classes.

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Hindi was made a distinct subject for examination for the M. A. degree several years ago, and it is becoming increasingly popular with the students. I hope the time is not very far when our scholars will be allowed to answer their question papers and offer their thesis for the M. A. degree also in Hindi. You will thus see that our progress in this direction, though slow, is full of hope.

The second object which the University set before itself was to promote learning and research generally in all arts and science subjects. Towards the fulfilment of this object, starting with the nucleus of the old Central Hindu College, we have provided teaching up to the M. A. and M. Sc. standards in Ancient Indian History and Culture, General History and Civics, Philosophy and Psychology, Economics and Political Science, English, Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, and Bengali, Mathematics and Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, and Geology. Our general and sectional libraries and laboratories are well-equipped both for practical instruction and research. We have also established a Teachers' Training College, a Law College, and an Ayurvedic College, to which a hospital of a hundred beds is attached, in which instruction up to the highest standard is imparted in Ayurveda—Hindu Medical Science combined with up-to-date instruction in

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Anatomy, Physiology and Surgery according to the modern allopathic system. A large Dissection Hall is nearing completion.

We have also established a Women's College with a separate hostel in which a hundred women students can reside. The hostel is in charge of a Lady Superintendent. Students of the Intermediate classes study at this college with women teachers of whom we have four in number at present. Women preparing for the Bachelor's or Master's degree study with men students of the general classes of the University.

The third object of the University was to advance and diffuse such scientific, technical and professional knowledge, combined with the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous industries and in developing the material resources of the country. Towards this end the University has established a College of Engineering in which instruction up to the standard of the degree of Bachelor of Science in Engineering is imparted in Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy. We have also established a department of Industrial Chemistry, in which instruction is imparted up to the M. Sc. standard. There is no other college in India where such high class instruction for degrees is offered in all these important

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branches of Applied Science. There was a crying need in this country of such an institution, and the University has every reason to be proud of the privilege of having provided for this need. The College attracts students from all provinces of India and from the Indian States. The competition for admission is very keen. Only those are admitted who have passed the Intermediate Examination in Science, with Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics, in the first or the second division. But because we are strict in selecting students for admission and in turning out those who do not pass the first year's examination, we have had the satisfaction of passing as many as 92 and 94 per cent. of our students at the last Examinations for the degree of Engineering.

It is our constant endeavour that the instruction and training we impart in Applied Science should be thorough and practical. Our students regularly go out at prescribed periods for practical training in Railway and other workshops and mines, and I gratefully acknowledge that they receive every assistance and facility from the Managers of these Workshops and Mines, and they come back to us after undergoing satisfactory practical training in them. This training is an integral part of the course we have prescribed. Unless a student puts in sufficient practical work, he cannot, according to the Regulations of the

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University, obtain the final degree of B. Sc. in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering of the University. So also is the case with Mining and Metallurgy. A considerable amount of practical field work is also demanded of a candidate for the B, Sc. and M. Sc. degrees in Geology. In courses for degrees in Industrial Chemistry also we naturally insist upon much practical training. This insistence upon sufficient practical training in all branches of Applied Science, along with the high standard of theoretical knowledge which we impart, has given a high value to our degrees. I am glad to be able to say that students who have obtained either diplomas or degrees in Engineering in this University have found little difficulty in obtaining situations. It is believed that 95 per cent. of the young men who have gone out of this University with such a diploma or degree have obtained satisfactory appointments, and it is hoped that those who are waiting will also soon find work. This is a matter for great satisfaction and thankfulness. The demand for practical engineers is likely to grow with the growth of time. Electrical installations are increasing in number. Thousands of miles of railways have been laid down and this mileage will go on increasing for a long time to come. For erecting and running electrical stations, for carrying out the electrification of railways and for serving railways in other ways, the young men trained

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in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering will be found to be most suitable recruits.

Another branch of instruction which will offer increasing opportunities of employment is Industrial Chemistry. Our Laboratory of Industrial Chemistry is well-equipped for imparting instruction and practical guidance to students who take up ceramics or oils and soaps as one of their subjects. The Governments of three Provinces have appreciated this work and are co-operating with us by sending their scholars for study and training here, and we expect that an increasingly large number of students will be attracted to this department in the future, as the training given here will enable them to earn a respectable living without taking service either under Government or in private firms.

We contemplate strengthening this department by providing instruction in several other branches of Applied Chemistry. The problems of poverty and unemployment are staring us in the face. They are clamouring for solution. That solution will be found largely not in wishing that more lucrative appointments should be created in the public services, nor in seeking to earn a living wage in the professions which are already overcrowded, but in providing technical instruction and practical training to our youth in various

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branches of Applied Chemistry. We can thereby gradually reduce the quantity of imports of finished goods which are pouring into our country in ever-increasing quantities year after year and also reduce the export of many raw materials. This is a field in which, with a suitable system of instruction and a reasonable measure of State aid to industries, employment can be found for tens of thousands of Indians. If the Government and the Universities will co-operate in this matter, they can create one very effective means for the removal of unemployment in this country. The Law College and the Teachers' Training College prepare men for the professions of law and pedagogy respectively, and the College of Ayurveda for the practice of medicine and surgery.

The fourth object of the University was to promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education. We have endeavoured to do much in this direction also. Lectures on religion are regularly given to Hindu students. *Kathas* selected to inspire high religious and spiritual sentiments, are recited on every *Ekadashi* day which occurs every fortnight. Members of the staff and students are required to attend them. Discourses on religion take place on other important occasions also, and an endeavour is made in various ways to

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impress upon the minds of students the broad fundamental teachings of religion and ethics. We believe religion to be the surest foundation of character and the truest source of human happiness. We believe patriotism to be a powerful elevating influence which inspires men to high-minded unselfish action. We therefore sedulously inculcate both upon our students.

But we do not rely upon the teaching of religion alone for the building up of character in our youth. The whole life at the University is so happily moulded and regulated as to help a student to develop the best of which he is capable. Physical culture is greatly encouraged. It is practically compulsory. Out of 2,600 students 1,600 live in hostels built by the University on its own grounds. They live under the eye of the teacher, for residences for the teachers have been provided in the hostels themselves. The whole arrangement is such that the teachers and the taught come into close contact with each other, so also students with students. Students have organized social and literary clubs, dramatic societies, and athletic associations and a University Parliament where they have full freedom to discuss subjects of their own choice, political, social and educational. They organize games and sports, captain teams and administer their own funds. A certain number of them are

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members of the University Training Corps and undergo fine military training for which they have shown much keenness. The common life which makes the many one is pulsating more vigorously. The atmosphere is pure and elevating. Apart from the help which he receives from his teacher, each student is educating himself and educating his fellow-students at the University. A code of honour is silently growing among them—a good augury for the future.

In the course of the twelve years that have elapsed since the University commenced work, it has instituted 32 departments of learning and gathered together over 150 members of the teaching staff, most of them residing on the University grounds, and over 2,600 students, 1,600 of them residing in the hostels built by the University. It has erected over 173 buildings, laid out on a magnificent site, healthy and extensive, two square miles in extent. It has collected nearly 60,000 books in its Library, provided 25 lakhs worth of equipment in its dozen Laboratories and Workshops, over 380 scholarships and over 400 free and half-free studentships for poor deserving students. It has also provided extensive playgrounds for cricket, football, hockey, and tennis, a stadium, an armoury for 300 rifles of the University Training Corps, a hospital which accommodates a hundred beds, a botanical

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garden and a pharmacy for the preparation of Ayurvedic medicines. A huge hall for a College of Physical Culture is nearing completion.

During this period the University has passed through its portals 2,954 graduates, of whom four are Doctors of Science, 189 graduates in the Faculty of Theology and Oriental Learning, 1,763 in the Faculty of Arts, 740 in the Faculty of Science, and 262 in the Faculty of Law. Of these again 384 are Bachelors of Teaching, 200 Bachelors of Science in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, and 14 in Mining and Metallurgy.

The University was established as an All-India Institution. It has proved in every sense of the word to be so. Contributions have been made to its funds by Indian States and by the people of every province in India. It has on its staff representatives of all the major provinces. Its students also come from every province of India. It will be interesting perhaps to note the quota of each province during the current year. Assam has contributed 28 students, Bihar and Orissa 176, Bengal 243, Bombay 105, Burma 5, Central India (including Indore and Gwalior) 39, the Central Provinces 231, Berar 10, Madras 137, the North-West Frontier Province 28, the Punjab 143, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner, Alwar,

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Kotah, and other places in Rajputana and Patiala 105, Hyderabad (Deccan) 6, Nepal 6, Kashmir 15, Mysore 3, the United Provinces 1,113, Travancore 17, Baluchistan 2, South Canara 1, Cochin 5, Andhra 31 and Delhi 3. There is also a student from Mauritius. These students represent altogether 222 districts of India.

Ladies and gentlemen, most of you will probably remember that an appeal was initially made for a hundred lakhs to found and maintain the University. I am happy to inform you that as a matter of fact a hundred and twenty-five lakhs has actually been collected up to this time. Of this a hundred and sixteen lakhs has been contributed by the Princes and people of India, and 9 lakhs by the Government of India. The Government of India also give us an annual grant of three lakhs, and the States a total annual grant of Rs. 80,000 a year. The rest of our recurring expenditure is met from fees and donations which we receive from the public. Our total income amounts to ten lakhs. Our expenditure is twelve lakhs. We have found the funds which we have collected and the income we have secured too insufficient for the purpose of building up and maintaining a first class University. An additional sum of rupees four crores will be required for the purpose. But for the present we have issued an appeal for another crore

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which should give us an additional income of at least three lakhs a year more for meeting our current expenditure, for strengthening the existing Faculties of Oriental Learning and Theology, and of Arts and Science both Pure and Applied, and of Ayurveda and for establishing the Faculties of Technology, Agriculture, Commerce and Music. The details of the objects for which more money is needed have been given in the Appeal which has been widely published, and I will not therefore detain you by repeating them here. I am glad to be able to say that the appeal is receiving a good response, and I fervently hope that the second crore that we need will soon be granted to us.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have detained you long by dwelling somewhat in detail over the development which the University has attained within the twelve years of its existence. I have done so because I felt that it is due to the University that its patrons and supporters and all who are interested in University education in India should know what progress this young institution has so far achieved. I hope that what I have stated will enable you and them to feel that the University has rendered a good account of its work and activities and that it deserves the continued patronage and support of all lovers of education. It has been given to few

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institutions to achieve so much within so short a period. I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that God has blessed our endeavour, and join with me in sending up to Him our most humble prayers of thankfulness for it all.

It is pleasing to note that this period of the growth of the Hindu University has also been an era of a general development of University education in India such as we never knew before. Twelve new Universities have been re-organized or strengthened by the addition of staff and equipment to afford facilities for higher education and research in both arts and science subjects. This is a matter for profound satisfaction to all who love the higher education of Indians and desire to see our country rise and prosper. We have got a strong band of Indian scholars working in a dozen well-equipped laboratories, tackling different problems, carrying on research for new truth and extending the bounds of knowledge. An idea of the good work these scholars have been doing may be formed from the papers which are read by Indians at the Indian Science Congress and other Scientific and philosophical Associations that have sprung up in this country. I am sure you will all join with me in offering cordial congratulations to all those who laboured to bring these new Universities into existence

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or to strengthen the old ones, and in praying to God that these institutions may in ever-increasing measure become the sources of light and life to the people of our country and help it to re-establish its position among the nations of the world.

It is a matter of special satisfaction that two of these Universities have been established in Indian States, namely, in Mysore and Hyderabad. I am happy to think that other States regard the Hindu University as a part of the provision for the higher education of the youths of the State, and are sending their students in increasing numbers to the University. This, if I may say so, is a wise provision, for it is a pleasure to acknowledge that the States have contributed nearly half the amount which has so far been collected for the University, and the students of the States who come to us get the advantage of having the option of choosing their courses out of the large number of subjects in which instruction is offered by the University.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been a matter of great national gratification that during the period we have been surveying some of our countrymen have won world-wide distinction in learning and research and have thereby brought lustre to the name of the Motherland. We all know how Dr. Sir. Jagadish Bose has stirred the imagination of

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the Western scientists and elicited their admiration by his researches in the realm of science, and how Dr. Sir C. V. Raman has won very high honour by the researches he has made in the field of Physics, and in particular by what is known as Raman Effects. And it gives me great pleasure to have in our midst today another scholar of eminence in the person of our esteemed friend Dr. Saha. He is the third Indian who has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Great Britain. He has won high honour at a comparatively early age, and we may be sure that he has many fresh laurels to win in the field of scientific investigation and research which he is pursuing with infinite patience and cool enthusiasm.

Gentlemen, time will not permit of my making mention of the achievements of other scholars who have extended the bounds of knowledge. What I have said is enough to show that Indian scholarship has won recognition in the world of science and is sure to win more of it in the future.

I have said that the establishment of so many Universities in the course of a few years is a matter of national gratification. But I regret to find that there is a tendency in some quarter to look askance at the development of Universities in India. There are some who think that they are growing

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too fast and that more is being spent on University education in India than should be spent. This is a mistaken view. One has only to think of the large number of Universities in Great Britain, in Germany, in France, in Italy, not to speak of America, to understand that for the vast continent of India, which is equal to the whole of Europe minus Russia, 18 Universities are none too many, and I venture to think that this is the view which is taken by every scholar who is capable of taking a statesmanlike view of this question. University education has come to be regarded in every civilized country as the most important part of a national system of education, and if the expense incurred on University education in the West is compared with what we are expending on it here, it will be seen that we are far below the standard of other civilized countries and have much lee-way to make up. Our Universities are like so many power-houses needed to scatter the darkness of ignorance, poverty and cold misery which is hanging like a pall upon the country. The larger the number of well-educated scholars the Universities will send out, the greater will be the strength of the national army which is to combat ignorance and to spread knowledge. Every lover of India must therefore rejoice at the growth of Universities in India.

But it is said that we do not get sufficient

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value for the money which is being spent on Universities, that they are not turning out work of the right type to justify the expense, that University standards in India are low, that the standard of admission is unsatisfactory, and that therefore efficiency is sacrificed and much educational power is wasted.

I admit that this criticism is partly true. I unhesitatingly admit that, some brilliant exceptions apart, the Indian intellect cannot, under existing conditions, produce the best results of which it is capable. Indeed it is highly creditable to Indian graduates that, despite the discouraging conditions under which they live and work, they have rendered so good an account of themselves in competitions both in India and in England as they have done. To understand how we may get better value for the money and labour we spend on Universities, we must pass in review our whole system of Education, we must note all its defects and deficiencies, and the obstacles which lie in the path of Indian Universities.

It is an obvious truth that the standard of University education depends directly upon the standard of secondary education. If you wish to raise the former, you must raise the latter. But you can do this only when primary education has been organized on a sufficiently sound and extensive basis. Bearing this in

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mind, let us recall what the state of education in India is and let us compare it with the systems which obtain in other lands. Let us take the case of England. For sixty years England has sedulously promoted universal education among its people. In 1870 the Elementary Education Act made elementary education compulsory. The Act of 1891 made it free. Since that time elementary education has been both free and compulsory for all boys and girls up to the age of 14. Compulsory education is split into three grades: (1) Infant grade, 5 to 8 years: (2) elementary or primary grade, 8 to 11 years, (3) Higher primary grade, which is sometimes called secondary education, 11 to 14 years. The secondary schools prepare students for the University matriculation examination, and encourage them by special grants to continue their studies for special courses. There are 60 public schools which are regarded as of the first rank, which have a reputation for building up character and preparing young men for administrative appointments. There are over a thousand other secondary schools. Since the War a new type of schools called the Central School has come into existence. They take in boys and girls at the age of 11, on the result of a competitive examination, and impart free instruction. They are day schools. They divide their courses in groups, the commercial group, the technical group and the industrial group. The

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present-day tendency in England is to include technical subjects in the scope of general education and to obliterate the distinction between primary, secondary and technical schools. But there is at present a net-work of part-time, wholetime and evening schools and technical schools, and there are technical colleges for advanced technology. In these schools a variety of technical and professional courses are offered to suit the particular bent of each student. In addition to these there are polytechnics which prepare the lower middle and the working classes for various industries and trade which require skilled labour. They offer training in every industry which exists in the locality. There are also technical institutes which offer teaching in specialized subjects. Polytechnics also provide teaching in ordinary arts and sciences for university degrees. On the top of these institutions, stand the Universities of which there are 16 in number. A large number of scholarships is given in secondary schools to encourage promising pupils to prepare themselves to join the Universities. It will be evident from this how much care is taken in England to see that every child receives the education for which he is naturally fitted. In all important countries of the West similar steps have been taken, and the systems of primary and secondary education have been overhauled, enriched and put on a sound footing.

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Let me give you some idea of the provisions that have been made in the last ten years in those countries to help the youth and the cause of education. Having improved their respective systems of primary, secondary and technical education, they have introduced a system of vocational guidance, which has been defined as "the giving of information, experience and advice in regard to choosing an occupation, preparing for it, entering it, and progressing in it." They have created Committees of School masters and others, and Juvenile Employment Exchanges and Bureaus to advise boys and girls after they leave the School as to the career they should enter upon. They do not think that they have discharged their duty to the child when they have passed him through the School. In all these countries the interest in the child has been extended to preparing him for occupational life and to securing him employment which may be suitable to him. Thus in Austria, in 1922, an order of the State Education Office stated: "It is the duty of the School not only to provide suitable instruction and education for the children who attend it, but also to advise parents as to the future careers of their children and as to the choice of an occupation." A French writer, F. Buisson, quoted by Prof. Shields in his book on the "Evolution of Industrial Organisations" wrote in 1921: "The school is not made for the school, but for life. It must provide the

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society of the future with men. It is a cruel mockery suddenly to abandon its little pupils on the day they reach their thirteenth year, when they are flung unarmed into the battle of life. It is also the most foolish waste. What madness, having done so much for the school boy, to do nothing for the apprentice! From this has arisen the idea, which has rapidly spread, that the social functions of the school must be greatly extended. There are many new services which it must give. The first of these is the supervision of the transition from the school room to the workshop." In England and Wales, vocational guidance has been provided for since the Education (Choice of Employment) Act was passed in 1910 for giving advice to boys and girls under the age of 17 (extended to 18 by the Education Act, 1918) with respect to the choice of suitable employment. So also in the Irish Free State, in France, in Belgium, in Germany, and in the United States, where probably the first systematic attempt to provide Vocational guidance was undertaken in 1908.

This will give you some idea of the amount of care which is bestowed in England and in other civilized countries on the proper education of the child. Every civilized Government regards it its duty to educate the child, and to educate him in such a manner that he should be able to earn a suitable living. During

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the ten years since the War, every civilized country has endeavoured to give a more practical bias to education. After six years of experiment Austria-Vienna in 1927 completely reorganized its school system. By 1928 Chile had reduced illiteracy to less than 30 per cent. of the population of four and a half millions, and nearly one-seventh were at educational institutions of some kind. Vocational training has been introduced in the third year of the secondary school, and experimental schools and courses have been established and a system of model schools is to be created to determine the type best suited to Chile. In Hamburg schools are being turned into community centres, parents' co-operation enlisted, and self-Government employed. The aim of present Swedish Education is to fit young people for citizenship and to develop their whole personality. In 1918 a whole system of practical education for young people was created and is vigorously at work. In Turkey since the War the old system of religious schools has been discontinued, and a democratic, secular, modern and national system of education has been put into practice to fit the country's new conditions. The number of schools has been largely increased, all education made free, opportunity for self-government given everywhere, and the activity plan put in operation into the first three years of elementary school. It is hardly necessary for me to remind you of the progress of

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education in France and Germany, America and Japan. The progress of their commerce and industries, the prosperity, power and happiness which they enjoy is in the largest measure due to the education which they have imparted to their sons and daughters during the last fifty years and more.

Let us turn now to our own country. What do we find here? As has well been pointed out by a distinguished English scholar, there is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so powerful an influence as India. Yet after nearly a hundred and seventy years of British rule, India is still steeped in ignorance. According to official reports the percentage of literates of both sexes and all ages was only 7.2, in 1921. In 1927 only 6.91 per cent. of the male population and only 1.46 per cent. of the female population were at school. The total attendance in all the schools and colleges in India in 1921-22 was $7\frac{1}{2}$ million. Of this about 5 million were in the first class of the primary schools, and the remaining one-third was distributed among the remaining three classes of the primary schools and among all the other educational institutions including Universities and Colleges. The majority of the boys drop off in the first class and only 19 per cent. of those who join the first class of Primary Schools actually reach the fourth class.

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Children in the first class cannot read and write and the little they learn is soon forgotten. There is a loud wail in a recent official report that the wastage and stagnation which these figures reveal are appalling.

Where provision for primary education is so utterly inadequate it would be unwise to expect any system of night schools or continuation schools for adult education.

Secondary schools also are inadequate in number and poor in the quality of education they impart. The standard of general education they provide is much below that which obtains in other countries and which is needed to give the education a practical value. They are also deficient in that they offer only a general and not vocational education. There are a few agricultural, commercial, technical and industrial schools. They are poor both in number and quality. We look in vain for alternative groups of courses in agriculture, commerce and industry such as the Central Schools in England provide. The official report, to which I have referred, says with regard to secondary schools: "The immense number of failures at matriculation and in the university examinations indicates a general waste of effort. Such attempts as have been made to provide vocational and industrial training have little contact with the educational system and are therefore largely infructuous."

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Universities may be likened unto trees the roots of which lie deep in the primary schools, and which derive their sap and strength through the secondary schools. Where both are woefully deficient and defective, where there is no diverting of students to vocational courses, where, speaking generally, every student is forced to adopt one general course which leaves him unfit for anything except clerical service of a very poor kind, it is not surprising that Universities have been hampered in their work by admitting "students who are not fitted by capacity for University education, and of whom many would be far more likely to succeed in other careers." In the circumstances that obtain at present, Universities cannot be expected to secure and maintain such a general high standard as they would naturally desire to. Indeed, it is a wonder that with all the handicaps under which they have laboured they have been able to show such good results as they have shown. It is clear therefore that for bringing about much-needed improvement in University standards of admission, teaching and examination, a national system of universal compulsory and free primary education and a sound system of secondary education, with attractive vocational courses must be adopted. This way lies the remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things and not in proposals for leaving out in the cold students who are not gifted or have

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not been fitted by proper school instruction for University education.

Ladies and gentlemen, another complaint against our Universities and Colleges is that they are turning out large numbers of graduates who cannot find employment. This is obviously due to the fact that our Universities also do not provide a sufficient variety of courses to fit men for careers. As a rule those who take a degree in arts or in pure science are fit only for a teacher's work or for an administrative appointment. But schools and colleges and the public services can absorb only a small proportion of the graduates who are turned out year after year. The provision for medical relief in the country's administration is scanty, and medicine therefore can absorb only a few at present. Want of alternative courses for professional or vocational training compels many students to take to law, only to find that the bar is over-crowded and to chew the bitter cud of disappointment. The remedy lies in providing education on an adequate scale and of the right type in commerce, in agriculture, in technology, in engineering and in applied chemistry. It is no answer to say that agriculture and commerce do not demand the services of a large number at present. The education has to be made so practical that there shall be a demand for it and the demand has to be sedulously increased. The Government

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and the Universities have to co-operate to give the right kind of education to the youth of the country and to find careers for them. No one branch of national activity can absorb an unlimited number of trained men. But many branches can find work for a few each, and all together can accommodate quite a large number.

It has often been cast as a reproach against our students that too many of them take to law. But it ought to be remembered that it is not their fault but their misfortune that they do so. What is the alternative open to them ?

At one time in Japan an unduly large number of young men used to take to the profession of law. The bar was soon overcrowded. Subsequently a Faculty of Commerce was started. Commerce was encouraged. Banks were started and many of the young lawyers left the bar and took up commercial careers and thus served both themselves and their country.

It is the greatest condemnation of the present system—it is tragic—that after twenty years of school and university education, an Indian youth should not be able to earn a decent living to support himself, his wife, and children and his poor parents. The system is radically wrong and requires to be greatly altered. The whole atmosphere has to be changed. The education of the child has to begin from the

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time when he comes into the womb of his mother. For this young men and young women have to be educated before they become parents. Look at England again. There the mother is educated, the father is educated, the neighbours are educated. Almost every one has received the benefit of schooling. Educational institutions and activities greet one in every direction. The newspaper and the book are in everybody's hand. The desire to learn, to read, to know is stimulated in every conceivable way. It has become ingrained in the minds of the people. Education has become a necessity of life. An attempt has been made, and it has largely succeeded, to provide it for all stages from the cradle to the grave. It is in such an atmosphere that an English child is born and brought up. He is carefully looked after in the nursery school, the primary school, the secondary school and the technical school. When he leaves the school finally, he is fit for and is helped to get a suitable job. If he enters the University, he enters it well prepared to pursue higher studies at the University, buoyant with hope and ambition. Place the Indian student under similar conditions, give him a fair chance, and he will not be beaten by the youth of any country on earth.

There is no end to the difficulties which beset the path of an Indian student at present. But if I may say so, the greatest of them all is

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that the medium of instruction is not his mother tongue but a most difficult foreign language. In no other part of the civilized world is a foreign language adopted as the medium of public instruction. In our anglo-vernacular schools and high schools the medium of instruction is generally English. Though in some provinces the use of the vernacular is permitted as the medium of instruction and examination in non-linguistic subjects, the use of English is yet quite general. A child begins to learn English when he is barely seven years old, and from that time the study of his mother tongue is neglected. It occupies a second place. It begins to be regarded as of inferior value and is not much cared for. The result is that from that time until a student leaves the school too much of his precious time is spent in acquiring familiarity with a difficult language as a mere medium of instruction, a language the spelling of which might make a foreigner go mad, as Gladstone once observed. It is difficult to calculate the amount of the loss of time and effort and money which is thus inflicted upon the people of India. The same course is pursued in the college. And yet any educationist will tell you that a very small percentage of our youngmen are able to express themselves correctly in English. If I may speak of my personal experience, I may tell you that I began to learn English when I was only seven years old. I have been learning it and using it

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for 61 years now. I have used it a good deal. But I frankly confess that I am not able to use it with half as much confidence as I am able to use my own mother tongue. I have had the privilege of the personal acquaintance of most of the great Indian scholars and public men of the last half a century. A good many of them won the admiration of Englishmen for speaking and writing English as they did. But I mean no disrespect to them when I say that very few of them would have claimed that they could use English with the same correctness and ease with which an average educated Englishman used his mother tongue. What then does this extensive use of English in our schools and public offices and bodies mean? It means a tremendous waste of the time and energy of our people. What is worse still is that with all the expenditure it involves, the knowledge which an average Indian youth acquires of English is poor and insufficient for his purposes. It is so poor that it often prevents him from acquiring a thorough knowledge of the subjects he studies through its medium, and from expressing in it what of such knowledge he has acquired. His knowledge of the subject cannot be as good as the knowledge which an English lad who receives education through his mother tongue acquires of the same subject. The Indian youth is hampered both in thinking and in expressing himself. He is placed at a disadvantage. National

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education cannot therefore be raised to the right level of excellence until the vernacular of the people is restored to its proper place as the medium of education and of public business.

I do not under-estimate the value of the English language. I frankly acknowledge that its knowledge has been of great use to us. It has helped the unification of public administration in all parts of India. It has also helped to strengthen national sentiment. I concede that it is or is on the road to become a world-language. I would advise every educated Indian who wishes to proceed to a University, or to go abroad for higher education, to acquire a knowledge of this language and also of German or French. But we should encourage the study of English only as a second language, as a language of commerce with men, of practical business usefulness. We should not allow it to continue to occupy the supreme position which it occupies today in the system of our education and our public administration and in the business world. It is impossible to calculate the full extent of the loss which the disregard of our vernaculars has inflicted upon our people. We should take early steps to check it. If there be any who think that our now vernacular should not be used as the medium of higher education and public business because it is not as highly developed today as English is, let me remind

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them that this very English language, which now possesses a literature of which every Englishman is justly proud, was neglected and condemned in England itself, until a few centuries ago. Up to the middle of the fourteenth century French was taught in England to the exclusion of English. It was only towards the end of the 14th century that the people of England began to use the English tongue in their schools, courts and public offices. Says Green in his 'Short History of the English People':

"In the middle of the fourteenth century the great movement towards freedom and unity which had begun under the last of the Norman Kings seemed to have reached its end, and the perfect fusion of conquered and conquerors into an English people was marked by the disuse, even amongst the nobler classes, of the French tongue. In spite of the efforts of the grammar schools, and of the strength of fashion, English was winning its way throughout the reign of Edward III to its final triumph in that of his grandson. 'Children in School', says a writer of the earlier reign, 'against the usage and manner of all other nations, be compelled for to leave their own language, and for to construe their lessons and their things in French, and so they have since Nomans first came into England. Also gentlemen's children be taught to speak French

from the time that they be rocked in their cradle, and know how to speak and play with a child's toy; and uplandish (or country) men will liken themselves to gentlemen, and fondell (or delight) with great busyness for to speak French to be told of.' "This manner," adds a translator of Richard's time, 'was much used before the first murrain (the plague of 1349) and is since somewhat changed; for John Cornewaile, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar school, and construing from French into English; and Richard Penchrice learned this manner of teaching of him, as others did of Penchrice. So that now, the year of our Lord, 1385, and of the second King Richard after the conquest nine, in all the grammar schools of England, children leaveth French, and construeth and learneth in English." A more formal note of the change thus indicated is found in the Statute of 1362, which orders English to be used in the pleadings of courts of law, because "the French tongue is much unknown."

Ladies and gentlemen, the result of this simple natural change was that within about two centuries of it, Shakespeare, Milton, and a host of poets and writers built up a glorious literature, the most important monument of which is the English version of the Bible, the noblest store-house of the English tongue. Imagine what the loss of the English-speaking

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world would have been if English had continued to be neglected as it was till 1382. Similarly who can calculate the loss which India has suffered because Hindi and the other Indian vernaculars have not received the attention they deserved and their literatures have not been developed to the extent they could have been developed as the media of national education and communication? English can never become the *lingua franca* of India. After nearly three quarters of a century of education, only 0.89 per cent. of the total population of India know English. It must therefore yield the place of honour in India to the principal Indian vernacular—to Hindi—or Hindustani—the language of Hindustan. So long as English will occupy its present prominent place in India in the courts of law, in public offices and bodies, in schools and colleges and Universities, the language of Hindustan cannot acquire its rightful position in the economy of national life, and a national system of education cannot be developed.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have described to you some of the disadvantages under which University Education labours in India. I have pointed out its defects and deficiencies, and the obstacles which obstruct its progress. Let me now invite attention to the remedy. What is all this enormous difference between education in England and education in India due to? Both

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countries are under the same sovereign. The affairs of both have been controlled by the same Parliament. A hundred and fifty years ago the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assumed direct responsibility for guiding the destinies of India. It has during this period repeatedly avowed that it is responsible for the moral and material progress of the people of India. It has of course also been responsible for the welfare of the people of England. It has discharged its responsibility to the people of England by introducing a most excellent system of national education. Sixty years ago it made elementary education compulsory throughout Great Britain and Ireland. In 1891 it made that education free. During this half a century it has organized and reorganized its system of education, general and technical, to meet varying national needs and requirements and by means thereof, it has enabled Britishers to hold their own in the keen competition with other advanced nations of the world in various directions. The prosperity and power which England enjoys today in the world is due in large measure to its system of education. Turn now to India. In spite of the repeated professions of solicitude for the welfare of the masses of India, Parliament has not been able to secure to them the blessings even of elementary education. The need for such education has repeatedly been pointed out and admitted. Only a few years

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after the Act of 1870 was passed in England, an Education Commission was appointed by the Government of India. It reported in 1883 and recommended the universal extension of elementary education. Several Commissions and Committees have since then made similar recommendations. The last to do so was the Royal Commission on Agriculture which reported only a year ago. Besides, for forty-five years we Indians have been asking that elementary education should be made universal, and that a system of technical, agricultural, industrial and commercial education should be introduced. But this has not been done. In 1910 Mr. Gokhale introduced a bill to initiate a system of permissive compulsory education, but his bill was opposed by Government and defeated. Since the reforms were introduced in 1920, the representatives of the people have tried to introduce an element of compulsion in certain areas in some provinces. But the total progress of elementary education brought about in India under the administration for which the Parliament of England has been responsible for a century and a half, is attested by the fact that only 6.91 per cent, of the total male population and only 1.46 of the female population was at school in 1927. This is truly appalling. The conclusion to which we educationists in India are driven is that the difference is due to the fact that in England Parliament has been responsible to the people,

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but the Government in India has not been so, and that no foreign Government can serve the interests of the people over whom it has acquired sway as a Government of their own can.

The question of national education is the most vital problem in the administration of a country. It can be dealt with in all its varying phases effectively and well only by a national Government. When a national Government is established, as I hope it will be established next year, one of the first things it will have to do is to call a Conference of eminent educationists to discuss and recommend a national educational policy to be pursued in India. Such a Conference will of course take note of the experience which has been gained by other nations in the matter of public education and will recommend a comprehensive programme of education suited to the needs of all classes of the people of the country. When such a policy and programme have been adopted by the future Government of this country, and have been put into operation, then and then only will the Universities of India be able to produce the highest results of which the Indian intellect is capable.

That the education system which is in vogue in India is unsuitable to our national and cultural needs hardly needs saying. We

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have been blindly imitating a system which was framed for another people and which was discarded by them long ago. Nowhere is this more forcibly illustrated than in the education of our women. We are asking our girls to pursue the same courses which are prescribed for our young men without defining to ourselves the results which we desire to follow from their education.

The education of our women is a matter of even greater importance than the education of our men. They are the mothers of the future generations of India. They will be the first and most influential educators of the future statesmen, scholars, philosophers, captains of commerce and industry and other leaders of men. Their education will profoundly affect the education of the future citizen of India. The Mahabharata says: "There is no teacher like the mother." We must therefore define the goal of their education and take counsel together and obtain the best advice as to what courses will most suit them, how we shall secure to them a good knowledge of our ancient literature and culture and combine with it a knowledge of modern literature and science, particularly biological science, of art and painting, and of music, how we shall secure the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual upbuilding of the womanhood of the country. Do we want to rear up women of the type of

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Savitri and Arundhati, Maitreyi and Gargi, Lilavati and Sulabha of old, or of the type of administrators like Ahalyabai, or of the type of the brave fighter Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, or women who will combine the best characteristics of the women of the past and of the present, but who will be qualified by their education and training to play their full part in building up the new India of the future? These and similar questions will demand consideration before a national programme for the education of our women will be settled. Statesmen and scholars shall have to sit together to discuss and recommend such a programme.

It has been said that the backwardness of India in education constitutes a great obstacle in the way of the establishment of responsible self-government in India, and yet we have seen that in the establishment of such government only lies the hope of removing that backwardness. It has also been said that as the masses of India are illiterate they are incapable of exercising an intelligent vote. But, it is forgotten that though the masses are illiterate, they are not wanting in natural intelligence and can be educated in no time. It is also said that there is too much of religious fanaticism and communal feeling in this country to permit of Indians becoming a united self-governing nation. Let us have charge of the education of the country with sufficient funds

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at our disposal, and on behalf of all my fellow-educationists in India, I promise that in the course of a few short years we shall banish illiteracy from the land, and spread education and ideas of citizenship among our people to such an extent that the fogs of communalism will vanish before the sun of nationalism, which it will be our earnest and proud endeavour to instal in the hearts of our people.

Let no one think that I am claiming too much for the school-master. I am not. The school master is recognised now in every civilized country as a very strong factor in the national advance of a country. He is indisputably the most important servant of the State. It lies largely in his hand to mould the mind of the child who is father of the man. If he is patriotic and devoted to the national cause and realizes his responsibility, he can produce a race of patriotic men and women who would religiously place the country above the community and national gain above communal advantage. Germany and France, America and Japan, and other civilized countries have built up national strength and solidarity by the direct teaching of patriotism in their schools. England herself has been doing it, particularly since the War. But Japan perhaps affords the best example for us in this matter. The great Revolution which laid the foundation of modern Japan took place

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in 1868. The national Government of Japan soon introduced a national system of education, which included the direct teaching of patriotism. An Imperial rescript on education was issued in 1890 in which the Mikado, the Emperor of Japan, exhorted his subjects to loyalty, filial piety, patriotism and the pursuit of learning, as a means to perfect morality and civic behaviour. This rescript is hung up in every school in Japan and is held in great reverence by every teacher and pupil. This teaching has produced excellent results. Patriotism has become the religion of Japan. It has taught the Japanese to sacrifice themselves in the cause of the country. Japan was divided and weak sixty years ago. By introducing a system of elementary, secondary, and higher schools, Universities, technical and special schools, by compelling the attendance at the elementary schools of boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14, Japan in a few years educated the rank and file of the whole nation. It is the education and the compulsory universal military training which was introduced along with it, that have been the principal cause of the wonderful rise of Japan. Educated and made doubly efficient by patriotism, the Japanese defeated China in 1895 and Russia in 1905. Japan has now long enjoyed the high position of being one of the big five powers of the world. This is all the result of education, of national patriotic

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education. Let India be permitted to adopt a similar system of national education and let it be expected with confidence that similar gratifying results will follow.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have detained you long. But I hope you will bear with me just a little longer while I say a few words to the graduates who have obtained their diplomas today and who are going out to enter life. I will be as brief as possible.

I ask you young men and young women to remember the promises you have made to me and through me to your *alma mater* before you obtained your Diplomas. Remember those promises. Remember also the advice which our esteemed Pro-Vice-Chancellor has given to you in the words of the revered Rishis of old. Speak the truth, live truth, think truth. Continue your studies throughout your life. Be just and fear none. Fear only to do that which is ill or ignoble. Stand up for right. Love to serve your fellow-men. Love the motherland. Promote public weal. Do good wherever you get a chance for it. Love to give whatever you can spare.

Remember the great fundamental truth which you have repeatedly been taught in this University. Remember that the whole creation is one existence, regulated and upheld by one eternal, all-pervading intelligent power, or

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energy, one supreme life without which no life can exist. Remember that this universe is the manifestation of such a power, of the one without a second, as say the Upanishadas, the creator and sustainer of all that is visible and and of a vast deal which is invisible to the human eye. Remember that such a power—call him Brahma,—call him God, is both imminent and transcendant, and has existed throughout all stages of evolution. He constitutes the life in all living creation. Should a doubt arise in your mind about the existence of this power, turn your gaze to the heavens, wonderfully lit with stars and planets, that have been moving for unimaginable ages in majestic order. Think of the light that travels with marvellous rapidity from the far distant Sun to foster and sustain life on earth. Turn your eyes and mind to the most excellent machine—your own body—which you have been blessed with, and ponder over its wonderful mechanism and vitality. Look around you and see the beautiful beasts and birds, the lovely trees, with their charming flowers and delicious fruits. Remember that One Supreme Life which we call Brahma or God dwells in all this living creation in the same way as it does in you and me. This is the essence of all religious instruction :

स्मर्तव्यः सततं विष्णुर्विस्मर्तव्यो न जातु चित् ।
सर्वे विधि निषेधाः स्युरेतयोरेव किकराः ॥

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'Ever to remember God, never to forget Him' All religious injunctions and prohibitions subserve these two alone." If you will remember that God exists and that He exists in all living creatures, if you will remember these two fundamental facts, you will ever be able to stand in correct relation with God and with all your fellow creatures. From the belief that God exists in all sentient beings has flowed the fundamental teaching which sums up the entire body of moral injunctions of all religions, namely—

आत्मनः प्रतिकूलानि परेषां न समाचरेत्

That is, one should not do unto others that which he would dislike if it were done to him. And

यद्यदात्मनि चेच्छेत् तत्परस्यापि चिन्तयेत्

i. e., whatever one desires for himself, that he should desire for others also,

These two ancient injunctions lay down a complete code of conduct for all mankind.

If anybody should steal your watch or any other of your possessions you would be pained. Therefore cause not such pain to another by stealing his watch or any article. When you are ill or thirsty you desire that some one should give you medicine or relieve your thirst. Therefore if there be any sister

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or brother who stands in need of similar relief from you, consider it your duty to render it. Remember these two grand negative and positive injunctions; they embody the Golden Rule of conduct which has been applauded by all the religions of the world. It is the very soul of religion and ethics. Christianity claims it to be its own special contribution. But in reality it is a much older teaching and found a place of honour in the Mahabharat thousands of years before the advent of Christ. I say this not in any narrow spirit, but only to impress upon you that this ancient teaching has come down to us as a noble heritage, and that it is one of the most precious possessions not only of the Hindus but of the whole human race. Treasure it in your hearts, and I am sure your relations will be right and loveable both with God and man.

You must at the same time also remember that this is the country of your birth. It is a noble country. All things considered there is no country like it in the world. You should be grateful and proud that it pleased God to cast your lot here. You owe it a special duty. You have been born in this mother's lap. It has fed you, clothed you, brought you up. It is the source of all your comfort, happiness, gain and honour. It has been your play-ground, it will be the scene of all your activities in life, the centre of all your hopes

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and ambitions. It has been the scene of the activities of your forefathers, of the greatest and the humblest of your nation. It should be for you the dearest and the most revered place on the surface of the earth. You must therefore always be prepared to do the duty that your country may demand of you. Love your countrymen and promote unity among them. A large spirit of toleration and forbearance, and a larger spirit of loving service is demanded of you. We expect you to devote as much of your time and energy as you can spare to the uplift of your humble brethren. We expect you to work in their midst, to share their sorrows and their joys, to strive to make their lives happier in every way you can. And here I have a definite advice to offer you. We all deplore that there is immense ignorance in our country. We should not wait for its removal till we get Swaraj. I call upon every one of you, young men and young women, to take a vow that you will start a crusade against illiteracy, a campaign to spread knowledge and enlightenment among the teeming millions of India. Organize your strength. During the period of your leisure or vacation, make it a point to go to the villages and work among your countrymen. Be determined to dispel the darkness which envelopes our masses. Open schools. Instruct the masses in the three R's. i. e., reading, writing, and arithmetic. To which add one more, viz., 'religion, the religion

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of which I have spoken, the religion of love and service, of toleration and mutual regard. Teach these four R's to every boy and girl, every man and woman, old or young. Do not discard religion. Properly understood and taught, it will contribute in rich measure to promote harmony and happiness among all mankind. Promote education by the simplest means. Help our people by your instruction to advance sanitation, health and hygiene in their villages by their own co-operative organizations. I exhort you all, those who are going out of the University now and those who will still be here, to form

लोक शिक्षा समिति

a People's Education League, and start betimes the campaign against illiteracy and ignorance, which to our shame has too long been delayed. Invite all the educated youth of our country to join in undertaking this grand endeavour. We have only to combine and work. Success is certain to crown our efforts.

Throughout the period of your work, take care to keep alive the sense of your duty towards God and towards your country. It will sustain you in the most difficult situations and help you to avoid the many obstacles which beset your path. A remembrance of what you owe to God will help you to cherish feelings of brotherliness, of kindness and compassion, not

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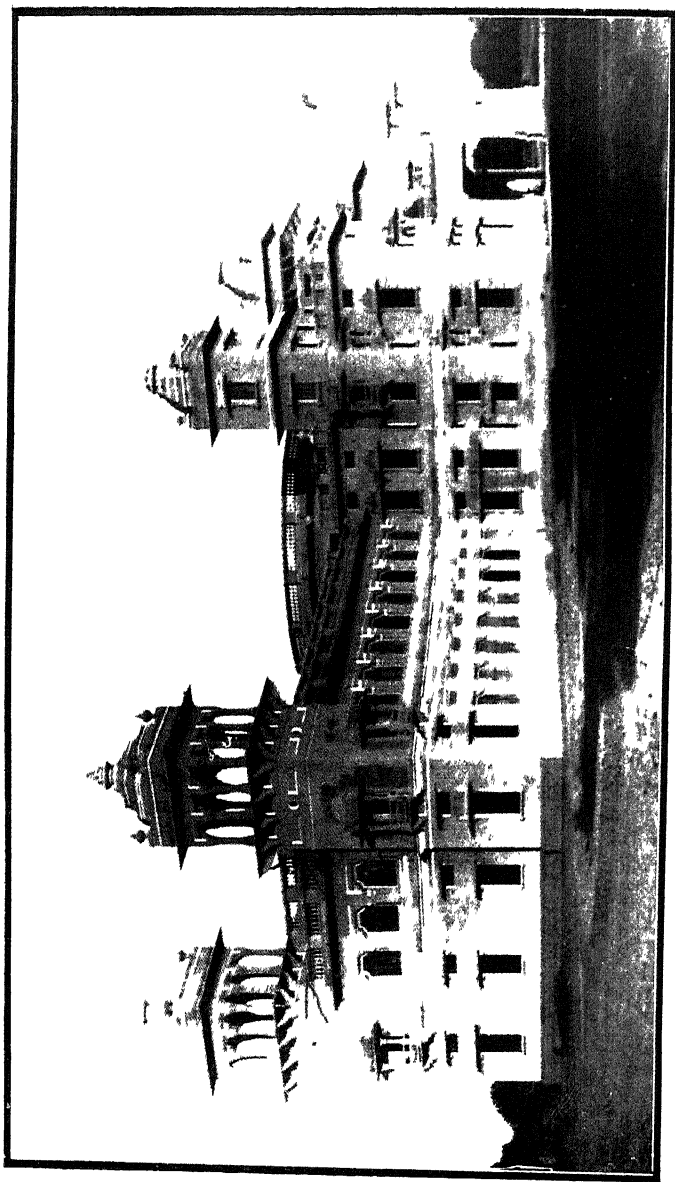
only towards men but towards all innocent creatures of God. It will save you from causing hurt to any one except in the right of private self-defence or the defence of your country. A remembrance of your duty to your country, will help you always to be prepared to offer any sacrifice which may be demanded of you for the protection of its interests of honour. You want freedom, you want self-government in your country. You must be prepared to make every sacrifice which may be needed for it. You have in the course of your education studied the inspiring history—past and present—of the struggles to establish or maintain freedom, which have taken place in our own country and in other lands. You have read of the spirit of valour and self-sacrifice which breathes through the best part of Samskrit literature and of modern Indian literatures. You have read and re-read and admired many growing passages in the glorious literature of England which sing in high strain of liberty and of daring and self-sacrifice in its cause. You have learnt how in the recent Great War, the youths of England and France voluntarily exposed themselves to death in the defence of their own freedom or the freedom of other countries; with what valour and courage and tenacity French and English lads continued to fight until victory crowned their efforts, and thus won imperishable glory for their motherland. I exhort you to cultivate the

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same love of freedom and the same spirit of self-sacrifice for the glory of your motherland. Thus only shall we again become a great nation.

The education you have received would have been lost upon you if it did not plant an ardent desire in your minds to see your country free and self-governing. I wish you to cherish that desire, and to prepare yourselves to discharge every obligation which may be cast upon you for the early fulfilment of it. You know that the highest duty of a citizen is to offer the final sacrifice of his life when the honour of the motherland requires it. I desire you at the same time to remember that that duty also demands that life shall be preserved for service and not lightly thrown away under wrong inspiration. I therefore wish you to act with a full sense of responsibility and to work in the right spirit and under proper guidance for the freedom of the country.





THE SAYAJI RAO GAEKWAD LIBRARY

CHAPTER XXII

H. E. Lord Irwin's Address

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen—

I thank you sincerely for the welcome you have offered to Lady Irwin and myself. Almost 11 years ago Lord Hardinge, in laying the foundation stone from which this great institution has risen, expressed the hope that the University might come to be a place of many-sided activities prepared to equip young men for all the various walks of life. His hopes have not been belied. Those who have directed the growth of this University—and I know how much the University owes to its Vice-Chancellor—have laid their plans wisely and pursued them well. In the choice of their site and the character of their buildings they have striven to create the real academic atmosphere, impalpable but always powerful, to influence the mind of those who are brought within its range. They have afforded opportunities for the study of a wide variety of subjects, intellectual and practical and theological and scientific, adequate to give a young man the mental equipment he needs to face the manifold problems of life. They were, I believe the first to adopt there the organisation of

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a residential teaching institution. Your system of housing the different departments with their hostels in separate contiguous buildings allows not only for specialization in study but also for a common social life outside the class and both are of the essence of the real university life. Those of us who were fortunate enough to receive our education at one of the English residential universities know how much of what we learn there is learnt not from textbooks or in the lecture room, but from contact, in our own rooms and in the course of every day life with our fellow undergraduates. This finely conceived and finely executed plan is, therefore, very bright with promise. It can well claim to be an all-India University, for it draws half of its 2,000 students from outside the United Provinces and it is built on a scale in keeping with the area of its appeal.

Your Vice-Chancellor has told you of the large sums of money already spent in building and equipping the University and has employed all his most persuasive arts in the attempt to elicit further sympathy in a practical shape from the Government of India. I have had no opportunity, since he told me the matters to which he had it in mind to refer, of making enquiry into the reasons that might weigh with the Government in the consideration of the requests which he has made. I can, therefore, say no more at present than that I shall make

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it my business to give personal and careful attention to those matters but in as much as the financial heart of all Governments in these difficult days is proverbially stony, may I perhaps utter one word of warning which will find place in my speech today, that however praiseworthy the object, I trust that the expenditure will not outrun the University's means ! I greatly hope that the debt, towards the reduction of which the Government of India has this year sanctioned a grant of five lakhs, will soon be cleared and the finances of the University be placed on a permanently satisfactory footing.

The New Library, however, of which I am at your kind invitation to lay the foundation stone today, has had special fund provided for it through the generosity of a benefactor. Your University is fortunate in having as Chancellor a man to whom appeals for educational purposes are seldom made in vain. A few years ago His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar gave a donation of a lakh of rupees to the general funds of the University. He has recently given a similar sum as an endowment for scholarships to enable science students of the university to continue higher studies at foreign universities. He has now followed his own admirable example by giving another lakh for the construction of this library. The whole library building is expected to cost 5 lakhs, but

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His Highness' generous donation has enabled the work to be begun. The building is so planned as to admit large future extensions as the Council wisely recognised that a university library must ever grow. It is appropriate that the central portion which is to be taken in hand at once should be called 'Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar Library' in honour of the benefactor who has made its inception possible.

The library, when completed, will supply a very real want in the university. The dispersal of the present collection of books over several separate rooms and the lack of any reading are indeed serious drawbacks. No university is complete without its library. There is something in a library, of books, whether old or new, which you find nowhere else on earth, a sense of communion with the thought of all ages, a feeling that you have around you a storehouse on which to draw as the fancy takes you, for inspiration, knowledge or consolation. You remember the lines of the poet Southey on his library.

My days among the dead are passed.
Around me I behold,
Where'er these casual eyes are cast;
The mighty minds of old.
My never failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.

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To a man who loves his books his library is a home of his own which he can furnish according to his tastes, a world of his own which he can people with his friends. His circle of friends is everwidening and, once made, they are friends for life. I think that perhaps never more than at the present day, was there a greater need for developing among the youths of this as of any other country the taste for general reading. A University student, with examinations looming large before him must perforce devote much of his time to the reading of textbooks and must specialise on the particular branch of study which he had undertaken. He is no student if he does otherwise. But to be a 'full man' in Bacon's words, his reading must take a wider sweep. Above all he must search out for himself the books or the passages which strike a chord in his mind and are henceforth destined to influence his life and his thought. If we have to trust the opinion of others as to what is good in literature, we shall never make much progress. The perverseness of the human mind is even apt sometimes to make us approach with a hostile feeling the book which we have been told is 'the best ever written'. Not that we should blindly discard advices. It is remarkable how general is the consensus of opinion on the world's greatest books. But when we read a book we should make up our own minds first which parts of it appeal to us

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by stimulating or making articulate trains of thought hitherto only existing in our sub-conscious minds. It is well to mark these passages and return to them again and again. We shall often find that our first judgment was wrong in the light of further experience. How many feel that our idea of their standard of value has changed. But by exercising our own judgment we have added something to our stock of wisdom which we could have attained in no other way. We should vary our reading too. In unexpected places we make discoveries. In a line from a poet, a sentence from a novel, we are stunned by the splendour of a sudden thought which will carry us through life. It is no bad plan to read two types of books concurrently one for pure pleasure—poetry, novels, memoirs—the other as a discipline, as an astringent to the mind—philosophy, social science, theology, economics. You thus acquire that mental balance without which knowledge can seldom be of great value either to yourself or to others.

I speak not without a sad consciousness that I am preaching what I seldom have the chance of practising but none the less I hope one day to have time to read again, and meanwhile I know that my advice is sound and contains a great secret of the real interest and happiness in life. Many of those I am now addressing will have gone out into the world

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before the building which is to rise upon the stone I am now to lay has reached completion. But whether you have the opportunity or not to profit by the advantage, it will offer, I hope that all those who are now passing or shall hereafter pass the precious years of youth within this place, may be inspired to repay the intellectual gifts that they have received by service in many fields and will win for themselves the title of honoured sons of an honoured university.



CHAPTER XXIII

Dr. Sir P. C. Roy's Address

I have been called upon, at a very short notice, to deliver the convocation address. You have done me a great honour by inviting me for this purpose. I am afraid, however, I shall scarcely be able to deal adequately with the subject which I have chosen for our discourse, namely, the true function of a University as also the imperative need for adopting the vernacular as the medium of instruction.

I shall, however, premise with a short account of the development of our present educational system by successive stages under the auspices of the British Government.

The first educational institution established in India by the British Government was the Calcutta Muhammadan College or Madarsa founded in 1780, at the request of several Muhammadans of distinction, by Warren Hastings.

The general object of the founder was to conciliate the Muhammadans of Calcutta, and through the learned Moulvies to teach Arabic



H. H. THE LATE MAHARAJA OF BENARES.

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and Persian with the whole range of Muhammadan religion, including theology and the ritual observances. The main and special object of the Institution was to qualify the sons of Muhammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, even at that date largely monopolised by the Hindus, and to produce competent officers for the Courts of Justice to which students from the Madarsa, on the production of certificates of qualification, were to be drafted as vacancies occurred.

The next attempt on the part of the British Government was initiated in 1791 by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Resident of Benares, who founded the Benares Sanskrit College as a means of employing beneficially for the country some part of the surplus revenue over the estimated receipts. This College was designed to cultivate the "laws, literature and religion of the Hindus" *i. e.*, to accomplish the same purpose for the Hindus as the Madarsa for the Muhammadans, and specially to supply qualified Hindu assistants to European judges.

The next important step is the establishment of the College of Fort William, whose Prof. of Bengali, Wm. Carey, was the founder of a school of Bengali writers. It was formally opened on August 18, by a Minute in Council in which the Governor-

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General detailed at length the reasons for starting such an institution.

The Minute then declares that "A college is hereby founded at Fort William in Bengal for the better instruction of the Junior Civil Servants of the Company."

Although it is hardly relevant to the general history of educational development in India, the College of Fort William deserves some mention as striking educational institution of the time and as the subject of various interesting documents. The Marquis of Wellesley, impressed with the "sloth, indolence, low debauchery and vulgarity," which too often grew upon the younger servants of the Company, decided that they should have a proper education in Calcutta.

After the battle of Plassey and during the next thirty years—the darkest period of Anglo-Indian history—the Company's servants seem to have felt a constant apprehension of losing all the fruits of the victory as suddenly as they were acquired, and no proposal excited more alarm than one involving any real or supposed interference with native religious prejudices. To show the general feeling at the time, it is enough to mention that in 1808 one of the most intelligent officers in the Company's service,

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then resident at a Native Court, deemed it to be "madness" to attempt the conversion of the natives of India, or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they then possessed. "The Hindus," he said, "had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people"; and with regard to the Musalmans, "it is quite sufficient if we endeavour to conciliate their confidence and to mitigate their vindictive spirit."

In 1813, when the further renewal of the East India Company's Charter was discussed, it was felt necessary to obtain local information about the great dependency, specially on the subject of the state and need of education or missionary enterprise, and the House resolved itself into a Committee for this purpose. Among the witnesses examined were Warren Hastings, then in his 80th year, Lord Teignmouth, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, and a host of minor Indian celebrities, but the evidence was generally in strong opposition to educational or missionary efforts being undertaken or even recognised by the State. And it is remarkable that far from thinking that any measures for the enlightenment of the people of India ought to be originated in England, the general tenor of the evidence of the old Indian was, that any such measures would be in the highest degree dangerous. Indeed, Sir Thomas Munro did not hesitate to

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declare his conviction that if civilisation were to become an article of trade between the two countries, England would be the gainer by the import cargo.

Better counsels, however, prevailed. "A sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (£ 10,000) in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories of India."

"We are informed", wrote the Court of Directors, "that there are in the Sanskrit language many excellent systems of ethics, with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the Judicial Department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit, we are told, on the virtues of plants and drugs and on the application of them in medicines, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner ; and there are treatises on astronomy and mathematics, including geometry and algebra, which, though they may not add new light to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the

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natives and the gentlemen in our service who are attached to the Observatory, and to the Department of Engineers and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences."

"With a view to these several objects, we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language and we desire that the teachers, who may be employed under your authority for this purpose, may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have made some proficiency in the sciences in question, and that their recompense should be liberal."

From 1813, owing to the causes above stated, the Indian Government seems to have had no settled policy or even intention on the subject of education, but several disjointed efforts are worth recording. In 1814, a High School was established by a missionary, Mr. Robert May, at Chinsurah, and some smaller schools were affiliated to it. This school was conducted with such success that, in 1816, a Government grant of Rs. 600/-per month (afterwards augmented to Rs. 800/-), was sanctioned for them.

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In the same year (1814), the Benares Charity School was founded from the interest of Rs. 20,000/-deposited by Jaynarain Ghosal, an inhabitant of Benares; with an additional grant of Rs. 252/-monthly, from Government. In this school, English, Persian, Hindustani and Bengali were taught with reading and writing, grammar and arithmetic, together with the Government regulations, general history, geography and astronomy (Howell).

As no account of English education in India can be complete without a history of Jay Narayan's, I make no apology for inserting it here. It is culled from a brief report kindly furnished by Principal P. Russell who very properly observes that "his High School might claim to be the oldest English teaching school in the whole of Northern India." Its origin reads like a romance when it is borne in mind that its founder was an orthodox Hindu and that he anticipated even the precursors of western education like Rammohun Roy.

Maharaja Jay Narayan Ghoshal, of a well-known Bengali family, left his home in Calcutta towards the close of the eighteenth century, in bad health; and came, like a pious Hindu, to Benares to die.

This was in 1814; and during the four succeeding years Jay Narayan was in consultation with Daniel Corrie as to how to place the school on permanent and proper foundation.

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"From the information communicated by him respecting the Church Missionary Society and from a perusal of one of that Society's reports which he gave me, I determined upon making the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society the Trustees of my school and assigning to them the property which I had appropriated for the endowment of it. Accordingly I have requested them to undertake the trust, and legal measures are in progress for transferring the school endowment permanently into their hands. In the meantime my house in Bengalee Tolah, which cost me in building Rs. 48,000 has been appropriated for a school house and Mr. Adlington has begun to give instruction in the English tongue. Thus what I have been many years desiring, begins to be accomplished. But I long greatly that the most effectual means may be used for enlightening the minds of my countrymen. I am, therefore, anxious to have a printing press also established at Benares, by which school books might be speedily multiplied and treatises on different subjects might be printed and generally dispersed throughout the country. Without this the progress of knowledge must be very slow and the Hindus long remain in their very fallen state, which is a very painful consideration to a benevolent mind. I, therefore, most earnestly request the Hon'ble Church Missionary Committee to take measures for sending out a Printing Press to Benares with

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one or two suitable Missionaries to superintend it—men of learning who may be able to satisfy the enquiries of the learned of this ancient city on subjects of Science and History as well as of Religion. From the reception which the labours of the missionaries of Serampore and of the School Book Society in Calcutta met with, I know how welcome to my countrymen such an establishment at Benares would be: and as the Hon'ble Church Missionary Society liberally expends its funds for the benefit of mankind, there is no place where their labours are likely to be more beneficial than at Benares and I earnestly hope they will not be backward to assist the efforts that I am making here."

Lord Moira's minute of 1815 was followed by the establishment of the Vidyalaya or Anglo-Indian College in Calcutta.

The foundation of this College marks an important era in the history of education in India as the first spontaneous desire manifested by the natives of the country for instruction in English and the literature of Europe. This was the first blow to Oriental literature and science heretofore exclusively cultivated in the Government Colleges. The new institution was started at a meeting of many of the leading Natives of Calcutta at the house of the Chief justice, Sir Hyde East, who has left an interesting account of the origin of the project



RAJA BALDEO DAS BIRLA.

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and of the original rules drawn up for its management. The further peculiarity of the College was its being designed "primarily for the sons of respectable Hindus," and entirely under Native superintendence—the funds amounting to nearly a lakh of rupees being voluntary contributions by the projectors of the scheme.

"English education was in a manner forced upon the British Government," says Alex Duff. "It did not itself spontaneously originate it. There were two persons who had to do with it,—one was Mr. David Hare, and the other was an Indian, Rammohun Roy,"

It reflects no small credit on the Hindus that long before England had learned to do anything of the kind, they themselves had founded a college at Calcutta by their own voluntary contributions, for the instruction of their youth in English literature and science.

Under these circumstances, a difference of opinion arose in the Committee of Public Instruction. One section of it was for following out the existing system—for continuing the Arabic translations, the profuse patronage of Arabic and Sanskrit words, and the printing operations, by all which means, fresh masses would have been added to an already unsaleable and useless hoard. The other section of the

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Committee wished to dispense with this cumbrous and expensive machinery for teaching English science through the medium of the Arabic language: to give no bounties in the shape of stipends to students for the encouragement of any particular kind of learning, to purchase or print only such Arabic and Sanskrit books as might actually be required for the use of the different colleges, and to employ that portion of their annual income which would, by these means, be set free, in the establishment of new seminaries for giving instruction in English and the vernacular languages, at the places where such institutions were most in demand.

This fundamental difference of opinion long obstructed the business of the Committee.

This stage of the controversy has a peculiar interest, not only as a turning point in the history of education in India, but because of the part taken in it by Macaulay then on the Committee, and at the same time the Legislative Member of the Supreme Council. In the latter capacity Macaulay wrote a long minute replying fully to the arguments, political and educational, advanced by the Orientalists. He declared: "the Government was not bound by the Act of 1813 to any particular kind of teaching, or fettered by any pledge expressed or implied, but was at liberty to employ its

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funds as it thought best, and that the best way of employing them was in teaching what was best worth knowing. English was better worth knowing than Sanskrit and Arabic. The Natives themselves have found this out. They would pay to learn English but they required to be taught Sanskrit and Arabic and then thought themselves entitled to compensation from Government for having been engaged so long in so useless an acquisition, it was quite possible and very advantageous on every ground to make Natives of India thoroughly good English scholars, and to this end the efforts of the Committee should be directed.'

The minute, distinguished by the brilliancy of style, the profuse illustration and incisive logic peculiar to the author, concluded with a distinct declaration that if the present system were permitted to remain unchanged the writer would resign his seat on the Committee. The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, briefly endorsed his entire concurrence in Mr. Macaulay's views.

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the Natives of India ; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone."

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On the receipt of this order the Committee resolved that henceforth "schools for the teaching of English literature and science through the medium of the English language should be established in the principal towns in the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra, as funds became available and as school masters can be procured."

But Macaulay never lost sight of the utility of vernacular as the medium of education as in the course of the Minute, he takes occasion to observe :

"To hire four or five people to make a literature is a course which never answered and never will answer in any part of the world. Languages grow. They cannot be built. We are now following the show but sure course on which alone we can depend for a supply of good books in the vernacular languages of India. We are attempting to raise up a large class of enlightened natives. I hope that twenty years hence, there will be hundreds, nay thousands of natives familiar with the best models of composition, and well acquainted with western science."

Mr. F.J. Monahan, who was Commissioner of two divisions in Bengal, had a thorough and intimate knowledge of Bengal and Bengali;

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in the course of his evidence before the Calcutta University Commission he says :

"I think that some Englishmen who advocate the use of English as a medium of instruction in schools and Colleges are influenced by natural enthusiasm for the Imperial idea. They value the English language as a bond of union in the Empire and dream of its becoming the common and universal language of India.

"There are also many examples which show that to attain success in commerce or industry a very small amount of knowledge of English, or indeed of education, of any kind suffices. The millionaire Marwari merchant of Barabazar has not taken the trouble to learn English, and employs a Bengali B.A. on Rs. 40/- a month to conduct his English correspondence. Though a good general education, including English, should be an advantage to an Indian in every walk of life, yet if the main object were to make as many Indians as possible commercially and industrially efficient, probably the best plan would be to help them to acquire, as quickly as possible, at school, some form of "pidgin" English, in addition to arithmetic and book-keeping and apprentice them at an early age to a commercial or industrial business."

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Before we conclude this portion, we must not, however, forget to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. We yield to none in our admiration for Macaulay, whom we may almost style the father of high education in India. But when Macaulay had not even been elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Ram Mohun Roy had sent a pathetic appeal to the representative of the British nation, which extorted the admiration and drew forth the encomium of Bishop Heber; there are passages in it which are almost interchangeable with those which occur in Macaulay's minute.

Ram Mohun wrote :

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation into ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanscrit system would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed, by employing a

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few gentlemen of talents and learning, educated in Europe, and providing a College furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus." (Letter to Lord Amherst, 1823.)

Engaged in the tedious and protracted Burmese War Lord Amherst could not afford to trouble himself much about the intellectual progress of the Indian people. Rammohun Roy's voice was thus as that of one crying in the wilderness. Not even an official intimation was vouchsafed to him that attention should be given to his memorial. It is perhaps a sign of human weakness that we are apt to give more credit to one who, no less by disinterested zeal than by a fortuitous concurrence of events, brings a movement to a successful issue, than to one who, amidst comparative darkness, takes the initiative. We do not know which of the two to admire most—the Indian or the Englishman—Rammohun Roy or Macaulay.

If mass education were to be developed on right lines, the enrichment of the vernacular was an absolute necessity, and the pioneering efforts of the Serampore Missionaries, notably those of William Carey, Prof. of Bengali, Fort William College, in this connection deserve the highest praise.

The Court of Directors strongly warned the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta

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against a disposition to underrate the importance of what might be done to spread useful knowledge among the natives through the medium of books and oral instruction in their own languages. It was pointed out that the more complete education, which is to commence by a thorough study of the English language, could be placed within the reach of a very small proportion of the Natives of India; but that intelligent Natives, who had been thus educated, might, as teachers in colleges and schools, or as the writers or translators of useful books, contribute in an eminent degree to the more general extensions among their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements which they had themselves gained, and might "communicate in some degree to the Native literature, and to the minds of the Native community, that improved spirit which it is to be hoped they will themselves have imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments." The Government was urged to make it generally known that every qualified Native, who would zealously devote himself to such a task, would be held in high honour; that every assistance and encouragement, pecuniary or otherwise which the case might require, would be liberally afforded; and that no service which it was in the power of a Native to render to the British Government would be more highly acceptable.

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If we begin by critically examining our methods in India the first outrage that we find we committed was in making a foreign language our vehicle of instruction. It is surprising that this principal reason for our intellectual sterility was not discovered till very recently, and it is still more surprising to find that some of the well-known educationists of the time continue to regard this relegation of the English language to an inferior position as fraught with disastrous consequences. To avoid misconception, I must here, once for all, make it clear that the study of English or other important foreign languages is by no means discouraged; they open up newer vistas of thoughts and ideals; there is no need of entertaining the fear that the language in which Shakespeare and Milton wrote will be left uncultivated. Only it must not be looked upon as the medium of instruction. A man of education must, in the first place, be one well up in all-round information, and he can gather it best and in the minimum of time if he does so in a language he learned to lisp in, while sucking his mother's breast—the language of his nursery. Arithmetic, History, Economics, Politics, Logic and Geography, in short the book of knowledge, can readily be mastered in one's own vernacular. That should be the first stone in our educational edifice if we want to build well and high.

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Gustave Le Bon, in the course of a psychological study on the overproduction of graduates, observes:

The primary danger of this system of education very properly qualified as Latin consists in the fact that it is based on the fundamental psychological error that the intelligence is developed by the learning by heart of text-books. Adopting this view, the endeavour has been made to enforce a knowledge of as many hand-books as possible. From the primary school till he leaves the university a young man does nothing but acquire books by heart without his judgment or personal initiative being ever called into play. Education consists for him in reciting by heart and obeying.

It gives those who have been submitted to it a violent dislike to the state of life in which they were born, and an intense desire to escape from it. The working man no longer wishes to remain a working man, or the peasant to continue a peasant, while the most humble members of the middle classes admit of no possible career for their sons except that State-paid functionaries. Instead of preparing men for life French schools solely prepare them to occupy public functions, in which success can be attained without any necessity for self-direction or the exhibition of the

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least glimmer of personal initiative. At the bottom of the social ladder the system creates an army of proletarians discontented with their lot and always ready to revolt, while at the summit it brings into being a frivolous bourgeois, at once sceptical and credulous, having a superstitious confidence in the State, whom it regards as a sort of Providence, but without forgetting to display towards it a ceaseless hostility, always laying its own faults to the door of the Government, and incapable of the least enterprise without the intervention of the authorities.

The State, which manufactures by dint of text-books all these persons possessing diplomas, can only utilise a small number of them, and is forced to leave the others without employment. It is obliged in consequence to resign itself to feeding the first-mentioned and to having the others as its enemies. From the top to the bottom of the social pyramid, from the humblest clerk to the professor and the prefect, the immense mass of persons boasting diplomas besiege the professions. While a business man has the greatest difficulty in finding an agent to represent him in the colonies, thousands of candidates solicit the most modest official posts. There are 20,000 school masters and mistresses without employment in the department of the Seine alone, all of the persons who, disdaining the

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fields or the workshops, look to the State for their livelihood. The number of the chosen being restricted, that of the discontented is perforce immense. The latter are ready for any revolution, whoever be its chiefs and whatever the goal they aim at. The acquisition of knowledge for which no use can be found is a sure method of driving a man to revolt”.

“It is evidently too late to retrace our steps. Experience alone, that supreme educator of peoples, will be at pains to show us our mistake. It alone will be powerful enough to prove the necessity of replacing our odious text-books and our pitiable examinations by industrial instruction capable of inducing our young men to return to the fields, to the workshop, and to the colonial enterprise which they avoid to-day at all costs.” Remember, Le Bon wrote the above some 40 years ago.

Dr. Hankin, late Chemical Examiner to the U. P. Government in his *Limitations of the Expert* says—

“Stephen Leacock thus sums up his experience as a schoolmaster in Canada:—“I have noted that of my pupils those who seemed the laziest and the least enamoured of books are now rising to eminence at the bar, in business, and in public life; the really promising boys who took all the prizes are now

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able with difficulty to earn the wages of a clerk in a summer hotel or a deck-hand in a canal boat."

"An acquaintance who had been to a certain school told me, it was notorious, that the education there, was so good that its boys were constantly getting scholarships and exhibitions at the universities. But it was also notorious that one never seemed to hear of them afterwards."

"Many instances have been adduced of highly developed business ability in badly educated persons and we have even found reasons for suspecting that education, despite its advantages in other respects, checks the development of the business instinct."

Edison has made a great deal of money by his discoveries. He cannot, however, be described as a typical expert. He lacked the ordinary education of an expert. As a child he was "rather wanting in ordinary acumen" but was highly inquisitive and has an extraordinary retentive memory. He had three months' schooling only."

"Cecil Rhodes once said that college dons are babes in financial matters.

"The College education means forming

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habits of indolence, acquiring an unwarranted sense of superiority or becoming dissatisfied with the circumstances and environment in which one's lot is cast" says Rockefeller, the greatest of the modern businessmen.

If one took a census of the greatest of world's men and women, I fear, he would be surprised to discover that the majority of them owe very little to Universities or indeed to any educational system. Shakespeare knew little Greek and less Latin. Our Keshab Chandra Sen and Rabindra Nath, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the prince of novelists and story-writers, Girish Chandra Ghose the foremost of our dramatists, never crossed the threshold of the University. I may also add the names of Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and the Noble Prize winner of the present year, namely, Ivan Alex Bunin, all of whom were self-educated. Then again the great rulers and statesmen of Europe who hold the destiny of the world in the hollow of their palm—Ramsay Macdonald, Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin have also been innocent of College education. Nor need I mention the names of Abraham Lincoln and others who born in the log cabin in the backwoods of America rose to be the proud occupants of the White House. In the second Labour Ministry most of the Cabinet ministers began as day labourers who in the evenings by self-tuitions gathered learning.

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Every one will admit that with an improved and broadened form of secondary education, the functions of the Universities will be stripped of many of their unnecessary appendages, making thus for real progress. The mechanical portion of training, which ought really to be finished in the school stage, but which unfortunately is carried on to the University forms, will then greatly disappear and make these Universities real centres of learning and culture. I fear a good deal of explanation is necessary at this point, mainly because the present University system is as yet so full of routine details that its function is not very far removed from that of a Secondary School.

No doubt the lecture system gives an appearance of work, but if the student is himself willing to utilise his time, he would in most cases find that he gets through more work by absenting himself from these compulsory lectures. Adopting as his text the dictum of Carlyle that the modern University is a University of books, Mr. H. G. Wells says :

“Now the frank recognition of the book and not the lecture as the substantial basis of instruction opens up a large and interesting range of possibilities. It releases the process of learning from its old servitude to place and to time. It is no longer necessary for the student to go to a particular room, at a particular hour to hear the golden words drop from the lips of a particular teacher. The

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youngman who reads at 11 O'clock in the morning in luxurious rooms in Tinity College, Cambridge, will have no very marked advantage over another youngman employed during the day, who reads at 11 O'clock at night in a bed-sitting-room in Glasgow."

Just consider the opposite system where the student is only given the names of some books and some questions on the problems dealt therein; he reads them, digests them and develops his own answers to the questions by a process of thinking which is his own, and then in the College Seminar discusses them from his own point of view with his colleagues and professor, preferably in limited groups. I am sure under these circumstances his powers of analysis as well as synthesis be better developed, and his efforts, though irksome in the beginning, will soon enable him to carve out his own intellectual empire. All these, however, presuppose a sound secondary education based upon his vernacular.

I have pointed out some of the main defects of our University educational system: *the medium of study, the absence of elimination, the system of compulsory lectures, and the nonparticipation of students in the organisation.*

Whilst on the one hand, therefore, the charge of handling mediocrity in the University system is not altogether unfounded, the current

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Emersonian aphorism that 'Universities are hostile to genius', is, on the other hand, not wholly justifiable. Whilst Universities should be anxious to invite real workers for human progress, we on our part should see that they are rendered independent to do so. If I may quote from Mr. Wells, 'they (future Universities) will offer no general education at all, no graduation in arts or science or wisdom. The only students who will come to them will be young people who want to work in close relation as assistants, secretaries, special pupils, collateral investigators with the devoted and distinguished men whose results are teaching all the world.'

I am not out to preach a jeremiad against University education altogether. Ever since the delivery of my Mysore University convocation address in 1926 and even before that, I have been harping on the insane craze for University degrees and its baneful effects. "The Universities are overcrowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or materially by their University training," is the finding of the Indian statutory (Hartog) Commission.

I only plead for a considerable elimination of candidates in the process of selection. An all round education should be imparted to the majority of the students in the secondary stage

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through the medium of the vernacular. This will correspond to the "school final" in England. No one should choose a University career unless he feels that he has an instinctive call in that direction. A University should be a centre of scholarship, research and culture. Let those alone seek the portals of the academy who are prepared to dedicate their lives to the enlargement of the bounds of knowledge.

Laski observes in his *Dangers of Obedience*: "I have no use for the lecture that is a mere substitute for books. The University has failed when its students are not aroused to passionate discussions among themselves or when the work they do fails to awaken them to the study of great books. "The student who is satisfied with pemmicanized knowledge has gone through the University with his mind closed; he has eaten facts, but not digested them."

Cardinal Newman very properly observes: "It is, I believe, as a matter of history, the business of a University to make the intellectual culture its direct scope, or to employ itself in the education of the intellect."

It is no doubt one of the main functions of the University to promote culture, but at the same time we must be on our guard. Says Alfred Zimmern:

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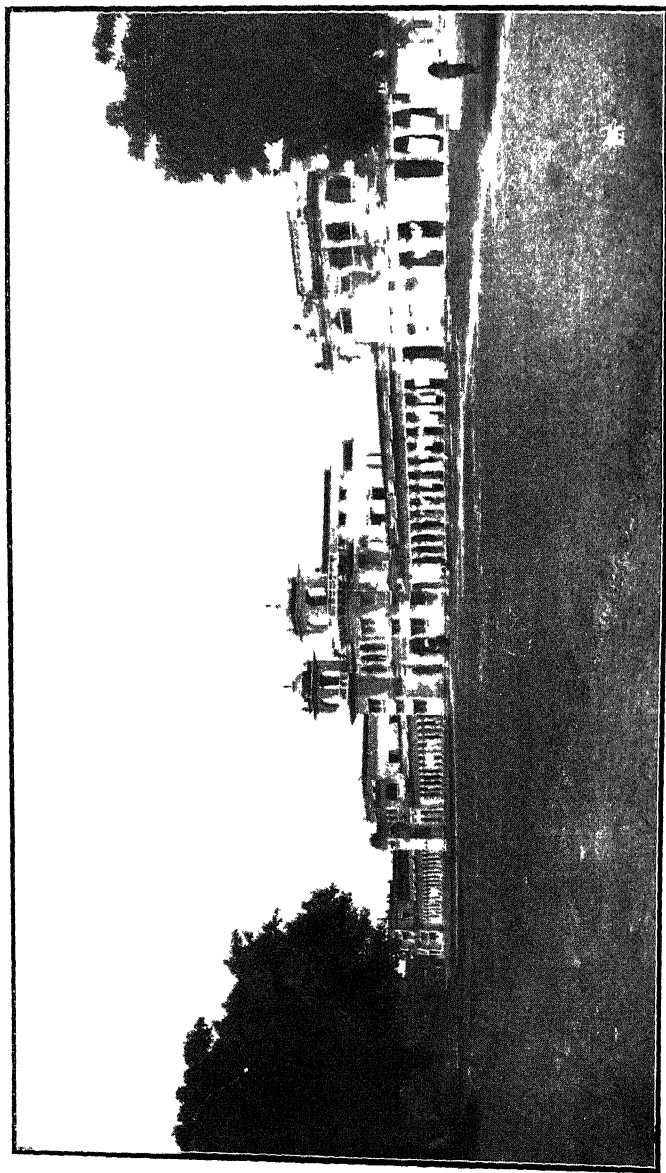
“Culture is an element making for grace, promotion, and harmony in human spirit. But if any criticism is to be levelled at the ideal and the processes of culture it is surely just this—that—they may tend to fix men unduly in stereotyped ways of thinking and feeling, ministering to a self-satisfaction which inhibits initiative rather than stimulating them to fresh efforts with all the possible conflicts involved. In other words culture is apt to be confounded with sanctions crystallised by use. Then again he refers to the memorable description in Renan’s St. Paul of those models of classical culture, the Athenian Professors, to whom the apostle addressed in vain the Word of Life. Athens, at the point to which it has been brought after centuries of development, a city of grammarians, of gymnasts and of teachers of sword-play, was as ill-disposed as possible to receive Christianity. The banality and inward dryness of the schoolman are irremediable sins in the eyes of grace. The pedagogue is the most difficult of men to convert for he has his own religion, which consists in his routine, his faith in his old authors, his taste for literary exercises : this contents him and extinguishes every other need”. This is also the opinion of Bertrand Russel.

Atque inter silvas Academi quærere veram
(in the groves of the Academy search truth)
thus sang the Latin poet. In ancient India and

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to a certain extent in the *Tols* of mediæval and modern India, the disciples in the *asram* of the preceptor (guru) while tending cows, collecting fuel and doing all manner of household drudgery used to get lessons on eternal verities : witness the sublime and transcendental discussions in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*. The very word *aranyaka* (i. e. in the forest) reminds us of the groves of Plato. I am afraid, in the mad insensate imitation of the west—in attaching palatial, residential quarters to our Universities with all the amenities of modern luxuries, we are doing incalculable harm. We are turning out helpless nincompoops utterly unfit to face the matter-of-fact world. This fact should not be overlooked by our educationists. May the University steer clear of these shoals.





ORIENTAL COLLEGE HOSTEL

CHAPTER XXIV.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Message

The call of invitation that has led me on to this platform to-day, though imperative in its demand, is, I must confess, foreign to my temperament. It speaks of a responsibility which I am compelled to acknowledge owing to my previous Karma, that has identified me with a vocation specially belonging to that beneficent section of community which surely is not mine. Believe me, once upon a time I was young, in fact, younger than most of you; and in that early dawn of mind's first urge of expansion I instinctively chose my own true path which, I believe, was to give rhythmic expression to life on a colourful background of imagination. Pursuing the lure of dreams I spent my young days in a reckless adventure,—forcing verses through a rigid barricade of literary conventions. Such foolhardiness met with serious disapproval of the severely sober among the overripe minds of that epoch. If I had persisted exclusively in this inconsequential career of a versifier, you would not have ventured to ask such an unadulterated poet to take a conspicuous part on this solemn occasion when a great University has gathered her scholars to remind

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them of the high obligations associated with their success in college examinations.

However, towards the period of my declining youth, I took upon myself, for no ostensible reason whatever, the deliberate mission of the teacher. This transformation in my life helped to unlock the gates to me at those institutions where my right of entry could legitimately be challenged. While enjoying the unaccustomed honour thus acquired I should confess to you that it was not a compelling sense of duty which guided me to this field of education but some long maturing ideals in my mind that constantly troubled my imagination claiming definite shapes. I have decided to speak to you about those ideals.

Before I broach my subject to-day I shall claim your indulgence in one or two points. It is evident to you that I have grown old, but you who are young cannot fully realise the limitations of old age. That I am not in a full possession of my breath may not be of any importance to others whose lungs are strong and whose hearts render loyal service to them without murmur. It may have a salutary effect upon me in curtailing the garrulity to which an old man's tongue has the habit to glide in. But what is more significant about a man who has crossed his seventieth year is that by that time he has concluded most of his

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opinions and thoughts and thus is compelled to repeat himself. This is one of the reasons why the young persons bored by his reiterations become naturally excited to a violent fit of contradiction which may be courteously suppressed and therefore all the more outrageous. But to save my energies I am ready to take the consequence and openly to plagiarize my own store of thoughts and even words. I strongly suspect that you have missed them, for, not being in your text books, they must have remained beyond the reach of your serious attention, and I am confident that there is very little chance of your taking the trouble to explore them in obscure pages of publications generally overlooked by my countrymen.

In Modern India centres of education have been established in large towns where the best part of energy and interest of the country is attracted. The constant flow of stimulation working upon our mind from its cosmic environment is denied us who are bred in towns. A great deal of the fundamental objects of knowledge with which Nature provides us free of cost is banished into printed pages and a spontaneous communication of sympathy with the great world which is intimately yours is barricaded against. I, who belong to the tribe of the born exiles, having been artificially nourished by "the stony

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hearted stepmother"—a modern city, keenly felt the torture of it when young and thus realised, when opportunity was given me, the utmost necessity of Nature's own bounties for the proper development of children's mind. It helps me to imagine the main tragedy that I believe had overshadowed the life of the poet Kalidasa. Fortunately for the scholars, he had left behind him no clear indication of his birthplace, and thus they have a subject that oblivious time has left amply vacant for an endless variety of disagreement. My scholarship does not pretend to go deep, but I remember having read somewhere that he was born in Kashmir. Since then I have left off reading discussions about his birthplace for the fear of meeting with some learned contradiction equally convincing. Anyhow it was perfectly in the fitness of things that Kalidas should be born in Kashmir,—and I envy him, for I was born in Calcutta. He was compelled to suffer an honorable banishment from there to a city in the plains,—and his whole poem of *Meghaduta* reverberates with the music of sorrow that had its crown of suffering "in remembering happier things." Is it not significant that in this poem, the lover's errant fancy, in the quest of the beloved who dwelt in the paradise of eternal beauty, lingered with a deliberate delay of enjoyment round every hill, stream, or forest over which it passed; watched the grateful dark eyes of the

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peasant girls welcoming the rain-laden clouds of June ; listening to some village elder reciting under the banyan tree a well-known love-legend that ever remained fresh with the tears and smiles of generations of simple hearts ? Do we not feel in all this the prisoner of the giant city revelling in a vision of joy that, in his imaginary journey, followed him from hill to hill, awaited him at every turn of the path which bore the finger-posts of heaven for separated lovers banished on the earth ?

I wish to impress you with the fact that one of the noble functions of education is to reconcile our human mind with the world of Nature through perfect knowledge and enjoyment. The great universe surrounding us with endless aspects of the eternal in varied rhythms of colours, sounds and movements constantly mitigates the pressure upon us of our small self along whose orbit whirl like meteors dense fragments of ephemeral interests. Education must have for its fulness an environment of a detached mind like the aerial atmosphere which envelopes the earth opening for her a path of communication with the infinite.

The *mantram* which I have accepted for my own purpose of life, and which carries within it in a concentrated form the true ideal of education is Infinite Peace, Infinite Well-being, the Infinite One.

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Peace there is in the depth of the universe, the peace which is not of inertia, but for the constant reconciliation of contrary forces, the peace that reigns in the sphere of the stars among gigantic whirlpools of clashing flames. This spirit of a mighty peace we must win in our life through the training of selfcontrol and balance of mind. Our individual beings are universes in a self-luminous field of consciousness; they have their instincts and desires as inflammatory elements which should be brought under control to be coerced into perfect creations. I was about to say that these were universes in miniature but I hesitated when I realised that spiritual entity cannot be measured by a criterion which is that of spatial expansions. Also we cannot be certain about time limits of those realms just as we are doubtful about those of the suns and stars. In fact there is a strong reason in favour of their being eternal pilgrims passing through countless cycles of renewal but for which the whole world would have gone out of existence long before this.

The human spirit whose highest aim is to realise itself in the supreme Spirit, in its progress towards finality is enjoined by our scriptures to choose for its initial stage *Brahmacharyya*, the stage of self-discipline. This is in order that it can be established in the heart of *Shantam*, in the infinity of detachment.

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The basis of education has to be acquired in this *Shantam*, the harmony of the soul in its unobstructed sense of the Eternal. The idea of pilgrimage that prevails in India has the same educational meaning. Its sites have been specially selected where nature reveals overwhelming magnanimity in its aspect of the beautiful and the grand. There, at the touch of the ineffable our worldly experiences lose their tenacious grip of immediacy and life's truth is rescued into the light from the density of entanglements.

There is another pilgrimage for us which is in the world of knowledge. This journey in the open road gives us emancipation not only from illusions of appearance and peremptoriness of the prevalent unreason, but also from wrong valuations of reality, from all kinds of bias that obscure our vision of truth, from the enchainment in the narrow cage of provincialism. It is a strenuous walk, every step of which has to be carefully taken with a solemn eagerness for the truth which is to be its goal. There was a time when the University had its origin in man's faith, in the ultimate value of culture which he pursued for its own sake. But unfortunately in the modern days greed has found its easy access into the sacred shrine dedicated to the cause of mind's fulfilment. The sordid spirit of success has allowed the educational institutions to be

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annexed to the busy market where *Vidya* is bought and sold according to the standard of worldly profit, where cheap facilities are offered for acquiring, in place of true education, its make-believe substitute.

It is fully worthwhile to emphasize the truth that the ultimate purpose of education is to enable us to live a complete life which can be realised through our complete unity with existence, a part of which consists of the physical nature and the other part that of the human community. For us the world of nature has no reciprocal path of union which may be termed as moral. Its manifestations in the predestined course of activities take no heed of our conduct or necessity, make no distinction between the good and the evil. The human relationship with blind forces combining in an eternal game of creation, indifferent to our personal cry, can only be established through our own impersonal faculty of reason whose logic is universal. By understanding Nature's laws and modulating them to our needs we reach the *Shantam* in the extra-human world, the *Shantam* which is the fundamental principle of harmony. Such an adjustment of Nature's workings to human intelligence has been progressing from the beginning of Man's history, and according to the degree of that progress we judge that department of our civilisation which

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we generalise, very often wrongly, as materialistic.

The Supreme Being, says the Upanishad, has to be realised with our heart and mind as well, as Visvakarma and as *Mahatma sada jananam hrdaye sannivishtah*. His name Visvakarma implies laws that are universal through which his activities in the physical world are revealed. They would elude our reason if they were expressions of a capricious will, then we could never depend upon the inevitableness of their influences upon our destiny, the influences which can only be turned to our favour if we have perfect knowledge of them. There are individuals even to-day who believe in some happenings in nature which are arbitrary and local, which ignore all the endless links of causes that keep the world in order. They imagine that the physical phenomena are liable to sudden outbreaks of catastrophic charms which are like special ordinances originating in isolated causes. Faith in such cosmic arbitrariness drives men to the primitive mentality of fear, to unmeaning ritualism, to imputations of special purpose upon natural events according to one's own personal tendencies of mind. We ought to know that numerous evils which in olden days were considered as punitive weapons in the arsenal of God have been tamed to innocuousness

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through accurate comprehension of their character.

It has been said in our scripture that *avidya* which means ignorance is the root cause of all evils, the ignorance which blinds us to the truth of the unity of our self with the not-self.

Man's *sadhana* for his union with nature depends for its success upon his faith in his reason and his disinterested endeavour in an atmosphere of detachment. A perfect technique of such a training is largely found in the West, and there the people are fast assimilating in their own power the power that lies in *Anna Brahma*, the infinity manifested in matter. In fact they are gradually extending their own physical body into the larger body of the physical world. Their senses are constantly being augmented in power, their bodily movements allied to nature's forces of speed. Every day proofs are multiplied convincing them that there is no end to such intimacy leading to the extension for their self in the realm of time and space. This is the true means of realising *Visvakarma*, the universal worker, by a mind divested of all doubts and by action.

Shantam, the spirit of peace, which can be attained through the realisation of truth,

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is not the whole object of education ; it needs for its finality Shivam, Goodness, through the training of moral perfection, for the sake of the perfect harmony with the human world.

The greatness which man has reached in the expansion of the physical and intellectual possibilities in him shows no doubt, a great advancement in the course of his evolution. Yet in its lop-sided emphasis it carries the course of *avidya*, the mother of all sufferings and futility, *avidya* which obscures the warning for him that his individual self when isolated from all other selves misses its reality and therefore suffers unhappiness, just as his physical body is thwarted in its function when out of harmony with the physical world.

The union of our self with Brahma as *Visvakarma* may bring us success in the province of living, but for the peace and perfection in the realm of our being we need our union with Brahma who is Mahatma, the Infinite Spirit dwelling in the hearts of all peoples.

With the modern facilities of communication not merely a limited number of individuals but all the races of men have come close to each other. If they fail to unite in truth then humanity will flounder in the bottom of a surging sea of mutual hatred and

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suspicion. Things to-day have already assumed an angry temper of a growling beastliness ready for an enormous catastrophe of suicide.

Most problems to-day have become international problems and yet the international mind has not yet been formed, the modern teachers' conscience not having taken its responsibility in helping to invoke it.

The word "international" may sound too indefinite, its meaning appearing large only because of its vagueness, like water acquiring volume by turning into vapour. I do not believe in an internationalism which is amorphous, whose features are broadened into flatness. With us it must be internationalism of India, with its own distinct character.

The true universal finds its manifestation in the individuality which is true. Beauty is universal, and a rose reveals it because, as a rose, it is individually beautiful. By making a decoction of a rose, jasmine and lotus you do not get to a realisation of some larger beauty which is interfloral. The true universalism is not in the breaking down of the walls of one's own house, but in the offering of hospitality to one's guests and neighbours.

Like the position of the earth in the course of its diurnal and annual motions, man's life, a

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any time, must be the reconciliation of its own personality, and another whose centre is in a luminous ideal comprehending the whole human world. The international endeavour of a people must carry the movement of the people's own personality round the great spirit of man. The inspiration must be its own, which is to help it in its aspiration towards fulfilment. Otherwise, mere cosmopolitanism but drifts on the waves, buffeted by wind from all quarters, in an imbecility of movement which has no progress.

As a people we must be fully conscious of what we are. It is a truism to say that the consciousness of the unity of a people implies the knowledge of its part as well of its whole. But, most of us not only have no such knowledge of India, they do not even have an eager desire to cultivate it.

By asserting our national unity with vehemence in our political propaganda, we assure ourselves that we possess it, and thus continue to live in a make-believe world of political day-dreams.

The fact is, we have a feeble human interest in our own country. We love to talk about politics and economics; we are ready to soar into the thin air of academic abstractions, or roam in the dusk of pedantic

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wildernesses; but we never care to cross our social boundaries and come to the door of our neighbouring communities, personally to enquire how they think and feel and express themselves, and how they fashion their lives.

The love of man has its own hunger for knowing. Even if we lack this concerning our fellow-being in India, except in our political protestations, at least love of knowledge for its own sake could have brought us close to each other. But there also we have failed and suffered. For weakness of knowledge is the foundation of weariness of power. Until India becomes fully distinct in our mind, we can never gain in her truth; and where truth is imperfect, love can never have its full sway. The best function of our Education Centres is to help us to *know* ourselves; and then along with it, her other mission will be fulfilled which is to inspire us to *give* ourselves.

What has given such enormous intellectual power to Europe is her co-ordination of minds? She has evolved a means by which all countries of that continent can think together. Such a great concert of ideas, by its own pressure of movement, naturally wears away all her individual aberrations of thought and extravagances of unreason. It keeps her flights of fancy close to the limits of reticence. All her different thought rays

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have been focussed in our common culture, which finds its complete expression in all the European universities.

The mind of India, on the other hand, is divided and scattered ; there is no one common pathway along which we can reach it. We cannot but look with regret at the feebleness of stimulation in our academic training for the forming of our mind which in co-operation of knowledge and sympathy may comprehend the larger mind of the country. The most important object of our educational institutions is to help each student to realise his personality as an individual representing his people in such broad spirit, that he may know how it is the most important fact of his life for him to have been born to the great world of man.

We, in India are unfortunate in not having the chance to give expression to the best in us in creating intimate relations with the powerful peoples of the world. The bond between the nations to-day is made of the links of mutual menace, its strength depending upon the force of panic, and leading to an enormous waste of resources in a competition of brow-beating and bluff. Some great voice is waiting to be heard which will usher in the sacred light of truth in the dark region of the nightmare of politics. But, we in India, have not yet had the chance. Yet, we have our own human voice which truth

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demands. Even in the region where we are not invited to act we have our right to judge and to guide the mind of man to a proper point of view, to the vision of ideality in the heart of the real.

The activity represented in human education is a world-wide one, it is a great movement of universal co-operation interlinked by different ages and countries. And India, though defeated in her political destiny, has her responsibility to hold up the cause of truth, even to cry in the wilderness, and offer her lessons to the world in the best gifts which she could produce. The messengers of truth have ever joined their hands across centuries, across the seas, across historical barriers, and they help to form the great continent of human brotherhood. Education in all its different forms and channels has its ultimate purpose in the evolving of a luminous sphere of human mind from the nebula that has been rushing round ages to find in itself an eternal centre of unity. We, individuals, however small may be our power and whatever corner of the world we may belong to, have the claim upon us to add to the light of the consciousness that comprehends all humanity. And for this cause I ask your co-operation, not merely because co-operation itself is the best aspect of the truth we represent, it is an end and not merely the means.

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We are new converts to western ideals, in other words, the ideals belonging to the scientific view of life and the world. This is great and it is foolish to belittle its importance by wrongly describing it as materialism. For, Truth is spiritual in itself, and truly materialistic is the mind of the animal which is unscientific and therefore unable to cross the dark screen of appearance, of accidents, and reach the deeper region of universal laws. Science means intellectual probity in our dealings with the material world. This conscientiousness of mind is spiritual, for it never judges its results by the standard of external profits. But in science, the oft-used half-truth that honesty is the best policy has proved itself to be completely true. Science being mind's honesty in its relation to the physical universe never fails to bring us the best profit for our living. And mischief finds its entry through this backdoor of utility, and Satan has had an ample chance of making use of the divine fruit of knowledge for bringing shame upon humanity. Science as the best policy is tempting the primitive in man bringing out his evil passions through the respectable cover that it has supplied him. And this is why it is all the more needed to-day that we should have faith in ideals that have been matured in the spiritual field through ages of human endeavour for perfection, the golden crops that have developed in different forms

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and in different soils but whose food value for man's spirit has the same composition. These are not for the local markets but for universal hospitality, for sharing life's treasure with each other and realising that human civilization is a spiritual feast the invitation to which is open to all, it is never for the ravenous orgies of carnage where the food and the feeders are being torn to pieces.

The legends of nearly all human races carry man's faith in a golden age which appeared as the introductory chapter in human civilization. It shows that man has his instinctive belief in the objectivity of spiritual ideals though this cannot be proved. It seems to him that they have already been given to him and that this gift has to be proved through his history of effort against obstacles. The idea of millenium so often laughed at by the clever is treasured as the best asset by man in his mythology as a complete truth realised for ever in some ageless time. Admitting that it is not a scientific fact we must at the same time know that the instinct cradled and nourished in these primitive stories has its eternal meaning. It is like the instinct of a chick which dimly feels that an infinite world of freedom is already given to it, that it is not a subjective dream but an objective reality, even truer than its life within the egg. If a chick has a rationalistic tendency of mind

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it ought not to believe in a freedom which is difficult to imagine and contradictory to all its experience, but all the same it cannot help pecking at its shell and ever accepting it as ultimate. The human soul confined in its limitation has also dreamt of a millenium and striven for an emancipation which seems impossible of attainment, and it has felt its experience of the true, good and beautiful, finds its reality though it cannot be proved, the reality in which our aspiration for freedom in truth, freedom in love, freedom in the unity of man is ideally realised for ever.

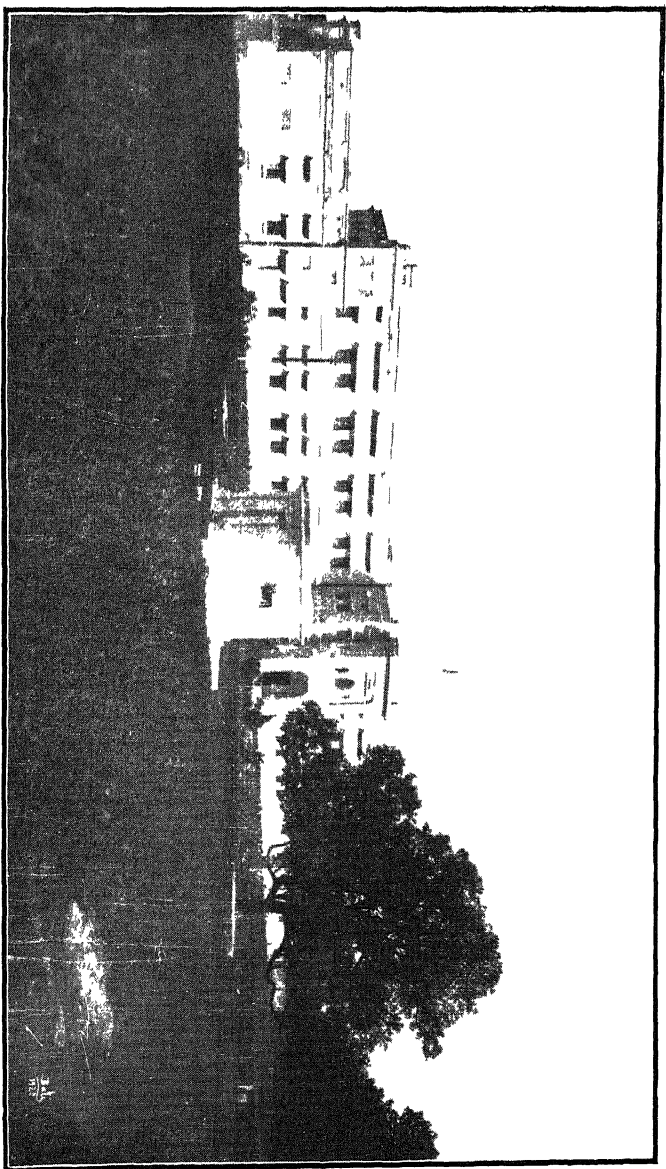


CHAPTER XXV

Sir M. Visvesvaraya's Address

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Your Highness and
Gentlemen.

I esteem it a privilege to be present here today to participate at this annual function. I am no stranger to this University. I have been an interested spectator from its inception and have watched the superb courage and almost fanatical zeal with which the institution has been built up from stage to stage. It was in December 1911 that I had for the first time the privilege of long conversations on this subject with the originator, your learned Vice-Chancellor, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I also attended a meeting held a few weeks later in Calcutta which was presided over by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and at which, after an eloquent appeal by the Pandit and other prominent personages, large sums of money were donated by leading merchant princes and business men for the work of this University. I have been here twice before, once prior to the laying of the foundation stone, and again in January 1923 after the institution had been in successful operation for nearly six years.



WOMEN'S COLLEGE

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This University owes a special debt of gratitude to the former Viceroy Lord Hardinge and to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. Due to the warm-hearted support of that popular Viceroy, extension of University education became possible in more than one part of the country during his term of office. The Mysore University, with which I was associated, was started at about the same time as this University, and His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore gave his enthusiastic support to both these institutions, and himself assumed the responsibilities of the office of the first Chancellor of this University in spite of the great distance which separated Benares from his home.

At the time of which I am speaking, the conservatism of the older Universities against the birth of new ones was very pronounced. In the case of the Mysore University we pleaded that it should be a source of pride to the Madras University to see a daughter of hers set up a house of her own. This appeal was met with the brusque retort that the mother was in no mood to encourage a runaway daughter.

Speaking for a moment of the curricula of studies carried on at this University, what appeals to me, as an engineer, most is the strong position assigned to applied science and

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technology in the studies for the degree courses. Provision of instruction and practical training for degrees in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, in Metallurgy, in Geology, and in several branches of Industrial Chemistry, gives this University its unique position among the Universities of this country. That by making such provision the University has met a real want is attested by the fact that students from all parts of the country including Indian States flock to this University for technological education. It is also important to note that many students trained here have found employment in factories and business houses in various parts of the country. Another special feature is the research work carried on in pure and applied science in several departments. Many of you have doubtless heard of the appreciation expressed a few days ago, of the research work done here in agriculture, by Sir John Russel, the distinguished British expert now travelling in this country. I understand the Commerce degree is not yet established here, only for want of funds. During a visit to the University of Tokyo (Japan) in the year 1919, I learnt from the President of that University that the subject which was most sought after by undergraduates of those days there was Commerce. In one of my visits to Germany, I noticed there were four Universities for training for the Commerce degrees alone in that country.

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The number of women students in this University also seems small. During one of my visits to Columbia and Chicago Universities in America, a striking feature which impressed me was that out of about 10,000 under-graduates in each, nearly 5,000 or half the number were women students. The few educated women we have in this country have given an excellent account of themselves in recent public movements, but unless the number of women undergraduates of our universities is largely increased no rapid growth of national efficiency can be expected.

Coming to the finances of the institution, I learn that a total capital of Rs. 151 lakhs has been collected by the University, nearly two-thirds of which has been expended on buildings and on the equipment of class-rooms and laboratories. The yearly expenditure on maintenance is stated to be Rs. 14 lakhs and the income including the Government grant only Rs. 12 lakhs. The present wants of the University are, I understand, a further sum of Rs. 50 lakhs for capital expenditure and an addition of Rs. 3 lakhs to current revenues.

In spite of the fact that the professors and staff are being paid far below their market value, the University is being operated on a deficit budget. The strain of responsibility during years when funds are deficient must be

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often overpowering. But it has always been a struggle like this. Despite deficit budgets, the University has been growing from strength to strength and has been thriving on its adverse conditions.

Let us hope that, as in the past, the public will generously unloose their purse strings and that, as years go on, the institution will continue to win support from an ever widening circle of friends and supporters.

It is difficult to speak of the work done in building up this institution in anything short of a string of superlatives. It is a great monument to the patriotism, organising ability and persuasive power of its originator and master architect. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has all his days worked for self-government, religion and country. God speed him in his task.

Nation-Building

In a telegraphic message which your Vice-Chancellor sent me last month, I was given a hint that suggestions from me would be welcome for a revision of the system of University education in this country with a view to providing adequate technical training to its youths for careers in industry, agriculture and commerce. In the same message he rightly stressed the importance of universal mass

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education as the *sine qua non* of industrial development.

I agree there is need for revision and readjustment of the basic ideals on which our present system of University education is founded. In spite of the enormous developments within the past thirty years in science, invention and trade, we are training our youths for the work of the middle of the twentieth century under a system of education which was appropriate for the nineteenth century. A sound national system of education with due emphasis on the practical side has long been overdue in this country. But any detailed proposals or schemes to attain that object would be premature and a waste of effort, so long as the necessary administrative structure to deal with them is lacking. University training even if reformed will not of itself provide a panacea for the many ills—chiefly economic ills—from which this country is suffering.

The greatest evils we are confronted with are unemployment both among the intelligentsia and the masses, illiteracy of the masses, a staggering growth of population, low standards of living, and poverty of a character which has no parallel in western countries. This is known as an industrial era; and at a time when industry and machinery are playing the chief part in production and creation of wealth, tens

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of millions are eking out a bare subsistence from agriculture practised on primitive lines. Only an infinitesimal part of the population is employed on organised industries. There is no comprehensive policy or scheme within sight to deal with these grave evils.

Many nations have had their economic and political structures overhauled after the close of the late war. Since the Provinces in this country are to have some sort of self-government from next month, and the Central Government too is likely to be remodelled on a Federal—we hope a democratic—basis before very long, I have thought the time was opportune for a consideration of reconstruction measures for this country, and so I have concentrated in this address on the more comprehensive problem of nation-building. The problem being manysided, I must bespeak your indulgence if, in the short time at my disposal, I do no more than supply a brief introduction to the subject.

The Universities can do much to elucidate and in a sense to popularise the subject, that is, to spread a knowledge of nation-building problems in this country. There is a wealth of brain power in our professoriate class which is not organised for any marketable purpose at present. Books on the various phases of national reconstruction can be written in a

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very short time, if the subjects are divided, sub-divided and distributed for study and development among the professors of the various Universities. With organised co-operation between the Universities like this, readable symposia can be compiled for this purpose at short notice on any subject however complicated.

The students strength in our Universities is about double what it is in Great Britain. In numbers at least, the professors and lecturers must be equally large. There is enormous wealth of man-power for propaganda work which is not utilised at present. I venture to think that distinguished University professors might be consulted with great advantage by the reconstituted Governments and form a sort of *brain trust* for them. To my personal knowledge, the Japanese Government were doing this in the early days of reform in that country.

Mass Poverty.

Our main handicap in this country has been our low standard of income and mass poverty. In the decade ending 1931, the population of India increased by more than 10 per cent. It is expected to swell up to 400 million by 1941. The food production of the country is not keeping pace.

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The present average monthly income of the Indian people is estimated at about Rs. 5 per head of the population. The income of the poorer classes falls far below this figure. The trade depression since 1929 has reduced agricultural income and hardened the lot of the rural population. The standard of living is so low that, to quote an English author, "the table of minimum food requirements laid down by the Minister of Health for the British unemployed would mean unheard-of luxury for the population of India."

The masses in rural areas earn on an average Rs. 2 to 3 per head per month, that is, less than 4 shillings in English money. Rural indebtedness is calculated at about Rs. 250 per family. Over seventy per cent of this population live in huts or hovels built of mud and thatch. In the words of a prominent public leader in Bengal, "the problem of a square meal every day and some kind of coarse cloth to cover nudity is the problem of problems which stares us in the face."

Since trade depression set in in 1929, unemployment has deepened. The people in authority in this country have in a sense abolished unemployment, and the horrors it would conjure up if the truth were known, by refusing to keep count. Another gloomy feature in the situation is that nearly 90 per

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cent of the population still remain illiterate and therefore ill-equipped to think ahead and work for their own advancement. As a result of these disabilities, added to malnutrition, the average life of the Indian is only about half the average age of the European.

Dr. N. I. van der Merve, leader of the Free Nationalists in South Africa recently made a public statement in which he said: ".....Our natives in South Africa are undoubtedly much better off than 90 per cent, of the population of India.....The people live mainly in mud huts, in which the most elementary health rules are unknown.....India is still an unhappy country and over its vast population hangs the menacing cloud of poverty, misery and ignorance."

All these statements seem reliable. But making allowance for possible unconscious exaggeration, if even seventy-five percent of what is stated is true, it will be agreed that the situation is intolerable, and a radical, a drastic reform is immediately called for.

How to Raise the Standard of Living ?

In view of mass poverty and unemployment, our first thought should be for the poor, and any ameliorative measures taken should be to raise their standard of living and arrest their

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further degradation. Life's necessities, that is, the goods and services needed to maintain a normal existence, fall under six heads, namely, food, clothing, housing, education, expenses on social functions, and recreation, amusements, etc., to occupy leisure. We have with us an ignorant, ill-nourished and underfed population. With an income of Rs. 2 to 3 per head per month, the living conditions of the majority of our peasant and wage-earning classes cannot but be regarded as precarious in the extreme.

In the case of the poor, education is practically neglected. The future citizens of this realm are growing up in dense ignorance and their expenses on marriages, funerals, etc. have been heavy and ruinous.

I have discussed the income question with intelligent farmers in villages in several parts of the country and with University professors, economists and leading business men in some of the cities and districts both in Central and Southern India. The result may be summarised like this.

Taking one hundred families in a district, it may be assumed that 2 per cent of them are well-to-do, each family earning on an average Rs. 150 per month, 18 families belong to the middle class, both upper and lower, with an average income of Rs- 75, and 80 families are

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of the poorer classes who earn Rs. 20 in cities and towns, and Rs. 10 in villages, or on an average Rs. 11 per head of the entire poorer population.

These figures give an average monthly income of Rs. 25 per family, or Rs. 60 per head per annum, for the whole country. For bare existence this income should be at least doubled, and this doubling will not come about without a plan and an organised big-scale effort. To secure this, fundamental, nay, revolutionary changes are necessary in the administrative and social policies of the country.

The immediate aim should be to double the income of the poor. This done, the income of the two upper classes will automatically increase by at least 50 per cent. The main remedies to this end lie in increasing production and service, as will be presently explained; in raising the literacy and skill of the people; and in launching a country-wide scheme of credit facilities to finance farming operations and rural business generally. Under modern conditions the standard of living of the people and the remedies for unemployment are becoming more and more the concern of the State in progressive countries. This should become a prominent feature in this country also.

The area under cultivation in British India

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is not more than one acre per head of the total population. The yearly income from produce at current prices cannot be very different from Rs. 15 to 25 per acre. There is little scope for any substantial growth of income from this source. Industries and trade are the real want. These common truths should become widely known. The Universities should take a hand in propaganda work to open the eyes of the people to the need of this great change in their outlook.

At the same time correct healthy ideals should be impressed upon the common people by means of mass education and by propaganda for citizenship training.

Production and Service.

The real source of prosperity of any community is the quantity of goods produced and the value of services rendered by its people. The *production* will be from agriculture or industries, and the *service*, in trade, transport, communications and other occupations and professions. The prosperity of the country, as a whole, and indirectly of the individual citizen, will depend upon the value of goods and services produced by the entire population.

For a century past in the Dominion of Canada, "the number of workers required to

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produce food has been steadily declining from something like 75 per cent to about 17 per cent at the present time." In the economy of Sweden, we know that in recent years the number of persons who gain their livelihood from agriculture has markedly and steadily diminished, while a continuously increasing section of the population has found occupation in industry, trade and traffic. This is the general tendency in every country for the past fifty years as evidenced by the examples of Soviet Russia, Germany and Japan. India is often spoken of as an agricultural country, but it is not made clear to the people that their safety lies in placing more reliance on industries and services than on agriculture. The encouragement of industries is an elementary policy in progressive countries but its operation has hitherto been deplorably neglected here.

The basis of a sound programme for securing a higher standard of living is a steadily rising total production of goods and services. The standard of living in a city, town or village and the purchasing power of its population will be conditioned by its production and service. It is necessary that statistics of production and service should be maintained, as far as it is possible to obtain them, for every residential area, (village, town or city) and the production and consumption in each area

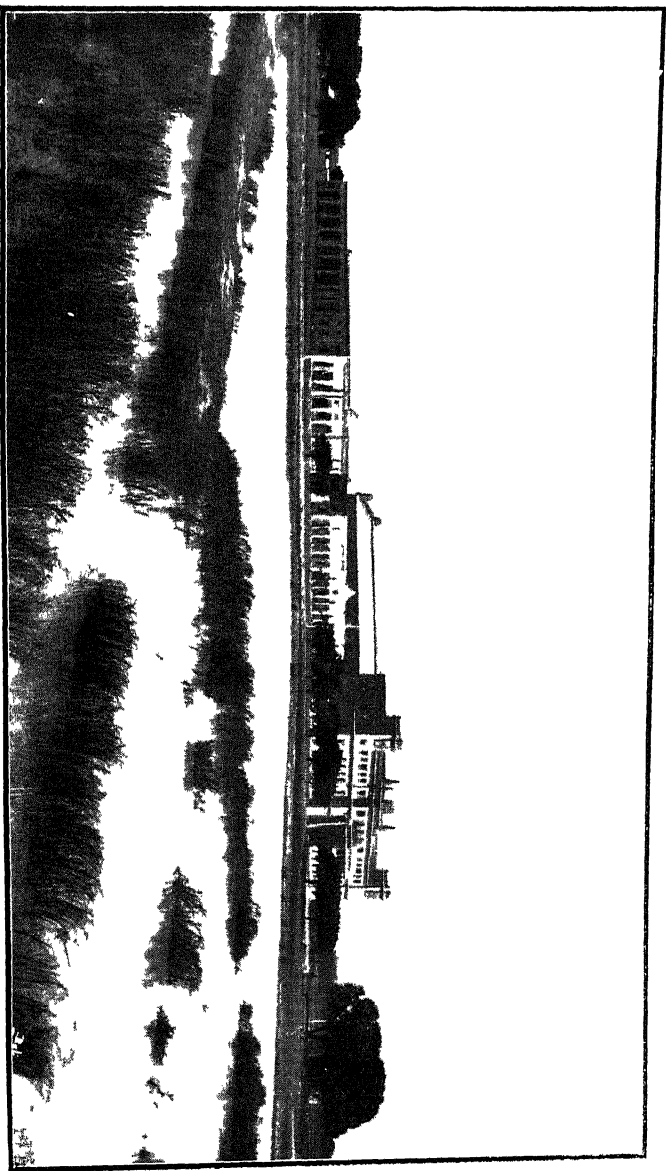
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estimated and checked from time to time to ascertain whether the area is getting richer or poorer.

For increasing production in industrial countries, the prime factors employed are machinery, organisation and capital. The situation in this country also calls for extensive developments under the same three heads. Measures to this end should be adopted both by the Government and by public men and business leaders. Organisation should include co-operative enterprise of every kind and particularly joint-stock companies and propaganda. Farms, factories and shops should be created and extended according to local needs, and farming operations industrialised as far as possible.

Industries.

Of all the developments urgently needed in this country, the extension of industries and industrial life claims the foremost place. Every country that has grown rich and prosperous has done so with the help of its industries. For more comforts and conveniences, the only prospect is through industry. This conviction has been burnt into me since I visited Japan some forty years ago and in subsequent fairly extensive visits to other industrial countries.



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Heavy industries at the present time are of the greatest value for the rapid economic development of this country. They form the backbone of a healthy national economy and the balance-wheel of all large business. There are some fifteen industries of this class which are important; for example, iron and steel, automobiles and aircraft, ship-building, power and electrical machinery, other industrial machinery and chemical industries. Public attention should be concentrated on these. Now that the Provinces are soon to become autonomous, each large province might take up one or two of these heavy industries and assume special responsibility to make a success of them. If Provincial Governments took prompt action, all the principal heavy industries known in any part of the world and for which there are facilities and scope in this country, could be established in three to five years' time. Such a development might be promoted from public loans by the Provincial Governments, wherever it could not be financed otherwise. This will not throw any heavy burden on any single Provincial Government, and it would be extremely popular with the new provincial legislatures.

Heavy industries are indispensable for manufacturing the machinery of defence. Within the past few days we have heard that in Soviet Russia they have created a separate

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Commissariat or Ministry for Defence Industry. No nation in these days can neglect heavy industry except at its peril.

Medium-scale industries can be started by business leaders with Government co-operation and help. Minor and cottage industries of every class need special encouragement from Government and from every local authority in city, town or village.

Large sums of capital would be needed which should be provided by the many ways in which credit facilities are organised and made available in western countries. Till people are able to invest large sums from savings, Government credit should come to their rescue for this class of development. Several countries including America have built up their industries in this way by loans obtained from foreign countries and particularly from Great Britain.

Tariff protection should be available to industries to the fullest extent desired by the representatives of the people in the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

To sum up, "Industrialise or perish" should be our slogan here in the immediate future as it has long been in the progressive West.

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Education

In inviting me to deliver this address, the Vice-Chancellor desired that I should give my suggestions for a revised system of University education, in order to make education more practical, and with a view to equip the alumni with directing ability and increase productive power in the country. We have not to go very deep into the subject to indicate our immediate needs in this respect. Our main aim should be to make the product of the University an efficient worker and a successful producer.

The chief defect in the present system is, as experience has shown, the absence of adequate technical and practical training in the curricula of studies whether in university, secondary or primary grades. Professor John Dewey of the United States of America has said that "in an industrial society the school should be a miniature workshop and a miniature community; it should teach through practice, and through trial and error, the arts and discipline necessary for economic and social order." Under the present system, education is not in close contact with life. School and society live entirely apart. The education given is of too general a character for the solution of practical problems or as an introduction to practical life.

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Every University should have Colleges of Technology for Mechanical and Electrical Engineering and allied sciences, a College of Agriculture and a College of Commerce. Research should be carried on at these institutions and a liaison officer attached to each College to maintain association between the colleges and their research laboratories and the industries and businesses for which the Colleges exist.

In secondary education every Matriculate should be made to pass an examination in a handicraft or industry. Linked with the elementary school system, there should be vocational schools to provide training in the elements of agriculture, commerce, handicrafts, carpentry, engineering, smithy and other similar trades for the boys: and cookery, dress-making, nursing and housewifery for the girls. Probably 60 per cent of the boys in rural areas would require agricultural training.

Coming to universal mass education, it may be stated that in a population of 272 millions, at least 15 per cent, or 40 millions, should be at school. In the United States of America the proportion is 23·7, and in Japan 19. But in British India, at present, only about 5 per cent are attending educational institutions. The proportion of female scholars is extremely meagre, being only 2 per cent.

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The literate population of the country is about 15·6 per cent males and 2·8 per cent females, and the general literacy for both males and females is 9·4 per cent. This proportion should be over 80 in any well-ordered country. The percentages in the United States of America, Canada, Great Britain and Germany are respectively 95·7, 94·9, 92·5, and 99·7. It is important to liquidate illiteracy in about 15 years' time.

The statement that the poverty of the people does not enable them to pay for elementary education is erroneous. Nine-tenths of our population live in villages. Education should come next only to food and clothing in the poor man's economy. And if each village now without a school is given a small grant, say of Rs. 100, and asked to educate its young folk by its own efforts, it will readily do so. There are enough literate men with leisure to give a part of their time to this work for a small consideration, if the importance of the measure is brought home to the village population. I speak from practical experience gained from an experiment made under my own eye in this direction about two decades ago.

As in the case of industries, so in respect of education, money should be found by loans if necessary. Money was so found in the past for the same purpose in the development budgets of Japan.

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Defence

The subject of defence ought to take a place next only to education and industries in any nation-building programme. India's sea-board being open, adequate preparations should be made for its defence. The rapid training of Indian youths to qualify them for all the three arms of Defence Forces—the Army, Navy and Air Force—is a move which brooks no delay. If you are alert and capable, you will be listened to; in the words of a great American “if you make yourself sheep the wolves will come and eat you.” You may have arts, industries, technical skill, prosperous cities, efficient transport services, big reservoirs and canals, but without physical efficiency for protecting them, you are liable to fall an easy prey to brute force.

As with technical and practical education, military training should be linked with educational institutions of the three grades.

I have been often asked by English friends how India will defend itself in an emergency, if difficulties arose in future wars. This is a point to which all well-wishers of the country should give serious attention.

To develop self-confidence and fighting spirit in the people and to increase their self-

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respect, military education is a *sine qua non*. In the villages of Japan, there are committees for preparing and training the citizen army and supplying recruits to the regular army. Recently it was reported in the public press that persons trained in universities and schools in that country were going to act as a liaison agency between the army and the people. We have enough man-power in this country to do the same.

The Standing Army costs the country about Rs. 45 crores at present. Much of this expenditure can be reduced, if the restrictions in the Arms Act are judiciously removed and a citizen army created. Every man capable of wielding arms should be trained in the modern methods of warfare as is done in Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan. And it should not be forgotten that the expenditure on armaments will undergo material reduction if heavy industries come to be established in the Provinces to the extent suggested.

Building up the Nation.

I have dealt with six main heads of problems which come uppermost under nation-building. There are many others, but these six are fundamental. If in any scheme of national advance the problems associated with these six heads are handled with vigour and

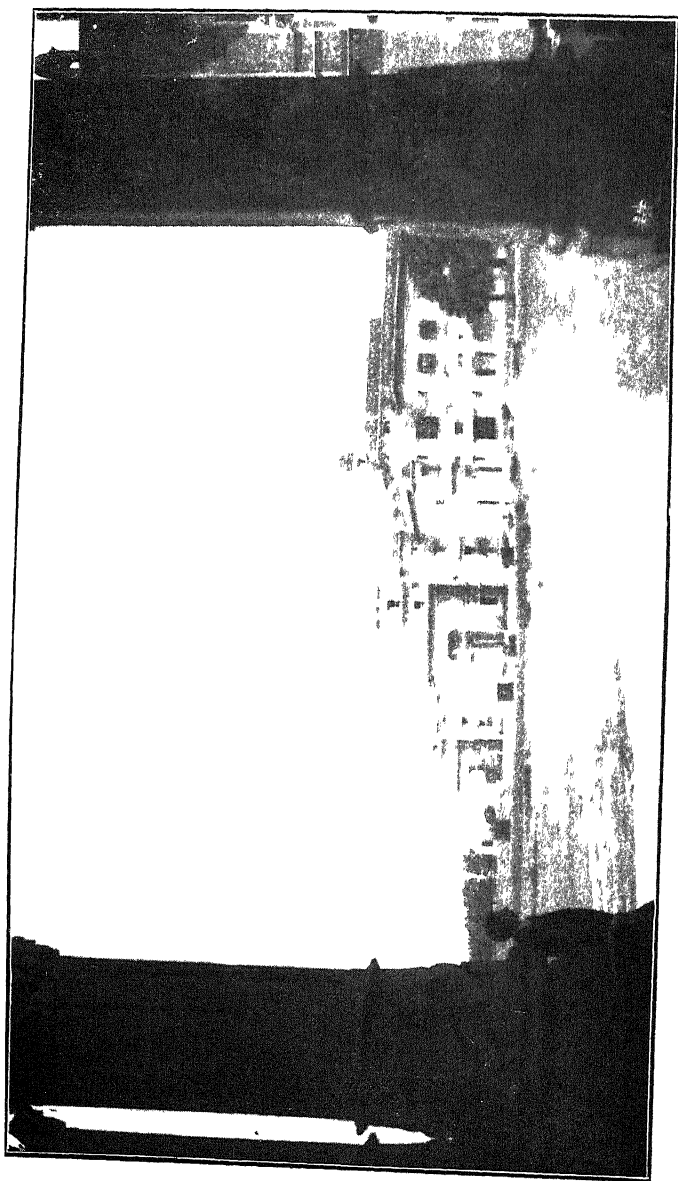
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with a right sense of responsibility, the rest will automatically fall into line. When a small advance in economic prosperity is secured for the masses by the measures indicated, it will of itself supply the wherewithal for promoting nation-building and welfare work of every other kind.

The only cure for unemployment is a higher standard of living, especially for the poor, and the only sure way to bring this about is by increasing the work done by the people and augmenting the goods and services produced. The system of work should be properly organised, occupations should be created for every one willing to work, and the workers should be disciplined as in the West. Since every unemployed man or woman is a burden on the community, there should be fewer and fewer idlers in future and part-time workers should be placed in a position to work full time.

Among the many ways suggested to us by foreign experience there are three large-scale measures which, in my view, will be of immediate value in this connection :

- (1) Citizenship training,
- (2) Planned development in villages,
- (3) Planned development in cities and towns.



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There should be universal mass education for young persons and unlearned adults. Literary training now given in educational institutions should be supplemented by practical training, in some of the many ways in which it is possible to do it. Separate vocational and trade schools, workshops and experimental and demonstration stations should be thickly scattered over the land.

The population in every village should be instructed to learn to maintain records of goods and services produced during the year. I have seen an admirable system of how this could be done, in the model villages of Japan, which is worthy of imitation.

In cities and towns, whether the residents collectively are growing rich or poor could be ascertained by similar methods, by valuing statistically such activities as lend themselves to measurement in industry, trade, transport, banking, etc. Such a test has been suggested even for the city of London.

The main object of all these measures should be to increase the skill and working power of the citizen and to augment the total value of goods and services produced in any district or given area from year to year.

In view of the uncertain world political

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situation, nation-building for defence calls for special attention. England is at present taking steps to give physical training to her population and to build up new and more powerful armaments. She will need help from this country. One of the clauses in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General in connection with the recent Government of India Act is that "the defence of India will be more and more the concern of the Indians themselves". The British Government have thus given a hint to our people that they would do well to equip themselves gradually for self-defence. Our own self-government, when it comes, will be an empty show unless the country is adequately equipped for self-defence.

Only large-scale plans and disciplined action will lead to success in nation-wide activities. Men with patriotic fervour should be invited to lead in order to secure the degree of discipline and regimentation necessary for a directed economy. The country has abundant human material for this purpose.

In totalitarian States under dictators in Germany, in Italy, in Soviet Russia, people's lives are regulated by various restrictions with the object of consolidating and augmenting national power and raising the standards of income and comfort of the nation as a whole. People have reconciled themselves to curtailment of liberties for the sake of the collective

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security and common economic advantage which it brings to them.

The people should be free to plan as they will, produce what they want, increase efficiency in directions in which they feel they are deficient, and mobilise the country's resources in materials and man-power for all their rightful tasks.

In European countries, two great measures have been adopted since the close of the War, mainly for economic safety, namely, (1) a *National Economic Council* and (2) a *Development Plan*. The plan adopted is usually a Five-Year Plan, and its working under the control of the Economic Council is regulated by the changing conditions of international politics and trade. These two measures, or some others having a like purpose, are urgently needed in India. If their operation is placed under the control of trusted leaders, they will prove of incalculable value for increasing the volume of national production and service.

Several Provinces, such as Madras, Bengal and Bombay, have made a beginning in welfare and rural uplift work. The Madras Government has started District Economic Councils. If the object is to provide a steadily rising total production of goods and services and reduce unemployment and under-employ-

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ment among the rural population, these measures cannot but be regarded as too insignificant and scrappy to have any marked effect within the life time of the present generation. The district councils should be enlarged and extended and placed under the control of a Provincial Council or Commission composed of trusted leaders.

The least that the Government of this country can do is to chalk out a reasoned *Development Plan*—a Three-Year or Five-Year Plan—and appoint a representative *Development Commission* to give it effect. In a recent publication I have given suggestions in detail as to how this could be done. I should like to repeat here that no appreciable result can be achieved without a large-scale organisation.

Conclusion.

I have given prominence to nation-building activities not only because we are at the threshold of a new Constitution, but also because without creating a new outlook for our people and without operating on a comprehensive plan and programme of reconstruction, the present dangerous mass poverty and ignorance in this country can never be cured. Since the War, extensive reforms, reconstruction and rehabilitation have gone on in Western countries, but there has been nothing comparable done here.

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I have tried to present a true picture of what we in India need in this respect. The picture may be imperfect in many respects, but no statesman or economist can discharge his duties to this country without visualising such a picture, without placing before himself a clear perspective view of the country's real needs, and of some at least of the many measures and methods by which the needs are met in progressive countries.

Extensive revision and reconstruction of our national life are necessary; *politically* because India has been a dependency hitherto and vast numbers of people have been without the power of self-help and self-improvement; in the *economic* sphere because mass poverty exists here to a degree unknown to Western countries; and *socially* because the Indian mass mind has to be liberated from the stupefying spell of many ancient traditions and narrow prejudices.

I would ask you, all young men and young women fresh from the University, to keep these nation-building problems constantly before your mind's eye in whatever region, or department of the country's life, your lot may be cast. To the graduates particularly who are leaving this University today to take their chances in the wider world outside, I would say: A few of you will no doubt devote your lives to some great object for the country's

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good as your venerable Vice-Chancellor has done. But to all of you, I trust, one of the principal ambitions in life will be to give every support in your power to the achievements, the efficiency, the good name and the glory of your people and country.

Since nation-building affects the security of your own homes and living, thoughts on this subject are likely to haunt you all through life. Old conditions are changing; old precedents and old customs are being swept away; old loyalties and old moralities are crumbling. Our dream world in this country has always been a world of contemplation and holidays. Life here was regarded as in a transition stage on its way to a better world. Poverty was praised. Remember that such sentiments arouse derision in the practical progressive people of the West. It is owing to these unpractical ideals and outlook that we have fallen in the world's estimation. To-day with one-fifth of the world's population we possess less than one-eighteenth of the world's goods. I have heard India and China spoken of as two of the economic slums of the world. In the West, both for success and happiness, reliance has long come to be placed on work—organised, disciplined work—rather than on contemplation. Much value is attached to the right use of time. To get the most of oneself is becoming the rule of the world at large, and pauperism

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however begotten is regarded as fatal to national progress.

Contact with our British rulers has done much to take us out of the old rut, but what advance there has been has occurred only among the upper and middle classes; and this has been accomplished by imitation and example, and not through the direct initiative of the people themselves, or through any purposeful policy on the part of the Government to develop a modern order.

For any general rise in the country's prosperity, you should place reliance on production and service organised on a basis of mutual trust and cooperation among our countrymen. For your own success, place reliance on your capacity, character, and power of will, all of which qualities can be progressively strengthened, if you choose, by a life long process of self-improvement. Your vision added to your courage and determination is the measure of your power. The master word is work. Work away steadily to build up your worth and power, keep your conscience in rectitude, and

“Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,

Thy God's and truth's.”

CHAPTER XXVI

Prof. Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Address

Mr. Pro-Chancellor, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies
and Gentlemen,

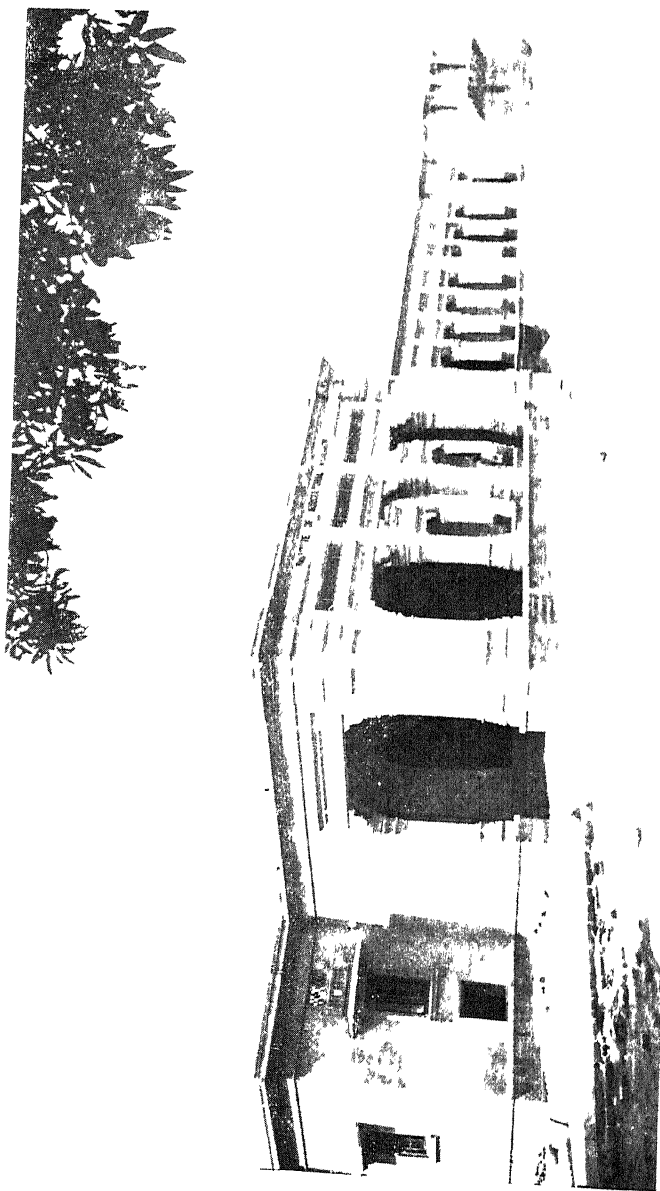
May I express to you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, my cordial thanks for inviting me to address this Convocation. It is a matter of regret to me that I was not able to undertake this pleasant duty in previous years. I am touched by the many signs of courtesy and consideration which I have received at your hands. I feel it an honour to be associated with this University as its Honorary University Professor of Philosophy and a member of its academic and administrative bodies. You will forgive me if I have not found it possible to show my interest in this great University in any effective manner.

I

The Soul of a University.

The most valuable thing about a University is its atmosphere, something in its life that enters into character and influences everything in after years. While this University empha-

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sises the religious basis of education, it gives equal importance to the practical side. Its Engineering and Technological departments are the pride of our country. It imparts to you the arts and discipline necessary for taking part in the new industrial age. It attempts to make you into good and efficient men with directing ability and productive power. But you will forgive a mere student of philosophy if he affirms that India will find a way out of her trials and achieve once again the distinction of a great civilisation if she works for the attainment, not only of those things which are necessary for existence but also for those finer and delicate values which constitute "the grace of life." This essential side of University education is fostered by its teachers who create the spirit of the place. It is your good fortune to work in a University presided over by a Kulapati who reminds you of the great teachers of old. Your Vice-Chancellor is a national asset, a sage of simple life and great heart, a dreamer and a builder. Though the founder of this University and a maker of modern India, he is untouched by personal ambition, and animated in all his work by faith in God and love of country. His example is a buttress against cynicism and spiritual despair, for, in the last essence, whether one is prosperous and successful is infinitely less important to the true self than belief in mankind and its destiny. Who holds firm to this will never lose the

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sweetness and savour of life and your Vice-Chancellor has never faltered in his faith.

II

The Basis of Religion.

I offer my warmest congratulations to all of you who are receiving degrees to-day, specially those who have won prizes and medals. Let them not, however, think more highly of themselves than they ought to. University distinctions are not everything in life. There is something which is much more important and that is life itself. Your work in this University is utterly vain, unless in the years to come you shall find the lessons you have learnt here of some value for the grim and relentless business of actual living. If your education does not help you to live well, if it does not teach you to get on with others, it has failed of its function. This social virtue does not depend on learning, on the number of books you read or the number of facts which you know but on the proper understanding of human nature. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, Nārada appeals to Sanat-kumāra that he is sorrowful though he knows all the branches of knowledge. "I am merely a knower of texts (mantravid), not a knower of self (ātmavid)". I am afraid that our schools and Universities, our libraries and laboratories, all this immense apparatus and effort do not

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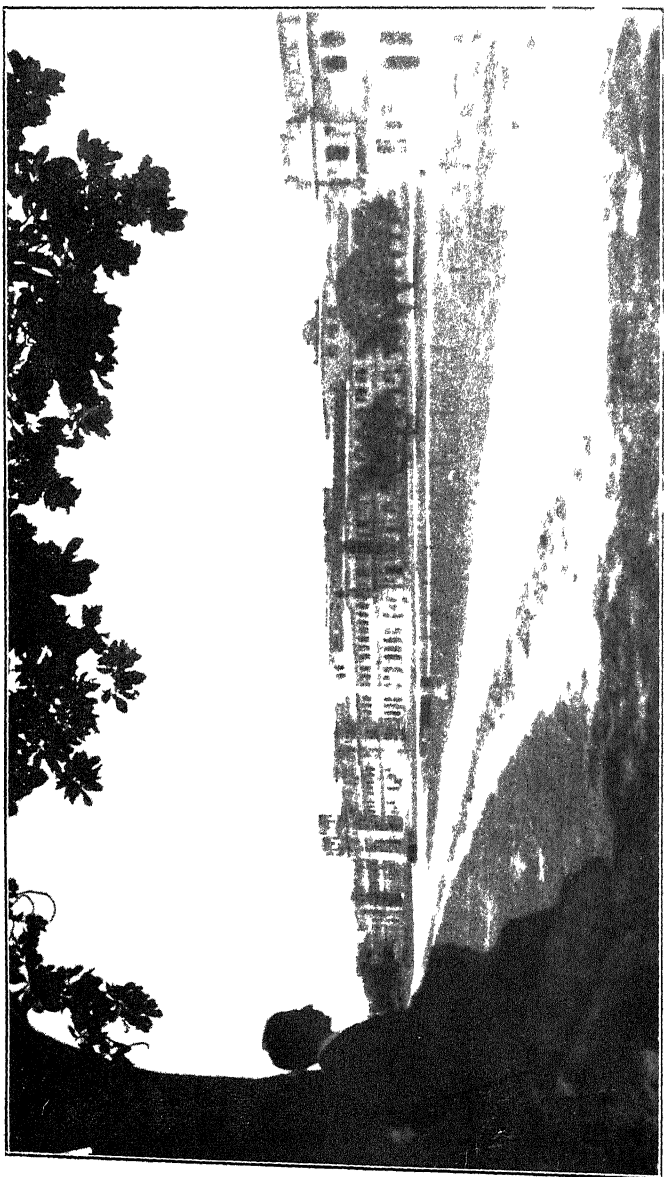
seem to have given us greater disinterestedness, greater humanity.

When I was a student nearly thirty years ago, we had great faith in the ideals of science and education, democracy and peace—with the growth of science we thought we would conquer pain; with the spread of education and enlightenment, we imagined that we would banish ignorance and superstition; with the extension of democratic institutions we hoped that we would remove all injustice and move towards an earthly paradise; with the increase of humanitarian sentiments we thought wars would be abolished. We believed that we could use intelligence in our dealings with physical environment, our social institutions and our inmost selves—we assumed that it was all a question of technology or engineering like control of floods or improvement of communications. Science has increased its range and scope, education has spread widely but we are not so sure that life is richer or the future brighter. The failure of the intellectual devices to improve our social relations has brought disappointment to the human soul. We find that the creation of ideal human relations is a different problem from the mastery of nature. The problem of living has become much more complicated and the mood in which we have to face it is not that of the self-complacent intellectual. If mankind finds itself in a mess,

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if things which should contribute to humanity's wealth have become an occasion for failing, it is because our conceptions of life are superficial. Human nature is not a matter of surfaces but of strata, of external experience, of reflective consciousness, of moral and aesthetic apprehension, of religious insight. Every stratum has its own life. We have diseases of the body as well as of mind. If cold and catarrh are illnesses of physical nature, if error, prejudice and falsehood are defects of our mind, lust, anger and jealousy are deformations of our heart. However much we may progress in the conquest of natural forces or in the control of social injustices, a very important part of the human problem will consist in the disciplining of our wayward desires and the achievement of an attitude of poise toward the inevitable limitations of finite existence.

You will be able to cope with the new problems, if you have caught a little of the spirit of this place. The true significance of a city or a country as of a person lies not in its face but in its spirit, not in its geography but in its history. Here in this city you feel the unseen presence of sages and saints who rose from time to eternity, and fashioned the destiny of a race. When your Vice-Chancellor started the idea of a Hindu University, there were many who thought that he was entering into controversial



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regions and it would be difficult to give the students the essentials of the Hindu faith in a non-sectarian manner. The difficulty of Hinduism, as of other religions, has been the emphasis on the insignificant. We quarrel about the casual interpretations, forms and ceremonies instead of insisting on the unifying devotion to the permanent truths. The essence of Hinduism is a living faith in spirit and man's capacity to assimilate it. Rites, forms, ceremonies, institutions and programmes are subordinate to this end. The central fact of religion is the felt existence within us of an abounding inner life which transcends consciousness, a secret spirit which haunts us like a ghost or a dream. We feel certain powers moving within us, we know not what, we know not why. These vague intuitions, these faint dreams are the far cries of the universal dwelling in us and the function of religions is to make our souls sensitive to the universal. In man alone does the universal come to consciousness. He alone is aware that there is a universe, that it has a history and may have a destiny. He feels most fiercely the adventure of awareness, the possibility of doom or deliverance. Religion appeals to the inward man, a stranger who has no traffic with this world. It is the core and centre of his being in which he strives to set himself in direct relation to the All. To develop the spiritual diversion we may have to withdraw

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our souls from the flux of existence, endure an agony of experience or travel barren and stony wastes of despair. When once this recognition arises, pride, prejudice, and privilege fall away and a new humility is born in the soul.

The natural desire of man is to be good and seek the true. No teaching can create this desire out of the void. No truth can be taught unless the potentiality for knowing it is already there in the spirit of the pupil. The instinct for spiritual life is in human nature. Religion is not a mere eccentricity, not an historical accident, not a psychological device, not an escape mechanism, not an economic lubricant induced by an indifferent world. It is an integral element of human nature, an intimation of destiny, a perception of the value of the individual, an awareness of the importance of human choice for the future of the world. It is a cleansing of man's soul, a sense for the mystery of the universe, a feeling of tenderness and compassion for one's fellowmen and the humbler creatures of life. To have religious men as the components of a society makes all the difference in the life of that society.

The uninterrupted continuity of Hindu civilisation bears witness to its vitality. The vitality of a living organism is to be measured by its power to carry off the waste matter which

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would prevent its proper functioning. When it fails to do this, it ceases to be creative, it is really dead, only a corpse. The most urgent question for Hindu Society to-day is whether it has life enough in it to overcome the obstructions within its own organism. If we try to embalm the present social structure, if we strive to defend the separatist tendencies of caste and the disabilities of the untouchables, we will be disloyal to the spirit of Hinduism. We cannot defend an unjust order of things and praise God. Faith in the one supreme means that we, his off-spring, are of one body, of one flesh—the Brahman and the Harijan, the black, the yellow and the white whose prayers go up to one God under different names. It is our own flesh that is torn when the shell explodes, that is pierced by the thrusting bayonet. The dignity of the individual who is the lamp of spirit must be the paramount consideration, if society is to survive. I have no doubt that when the world gets together and when a creative commonwealth is projected, India would be called upon to supply an indispensable part of its design for living.

III

The International Situation

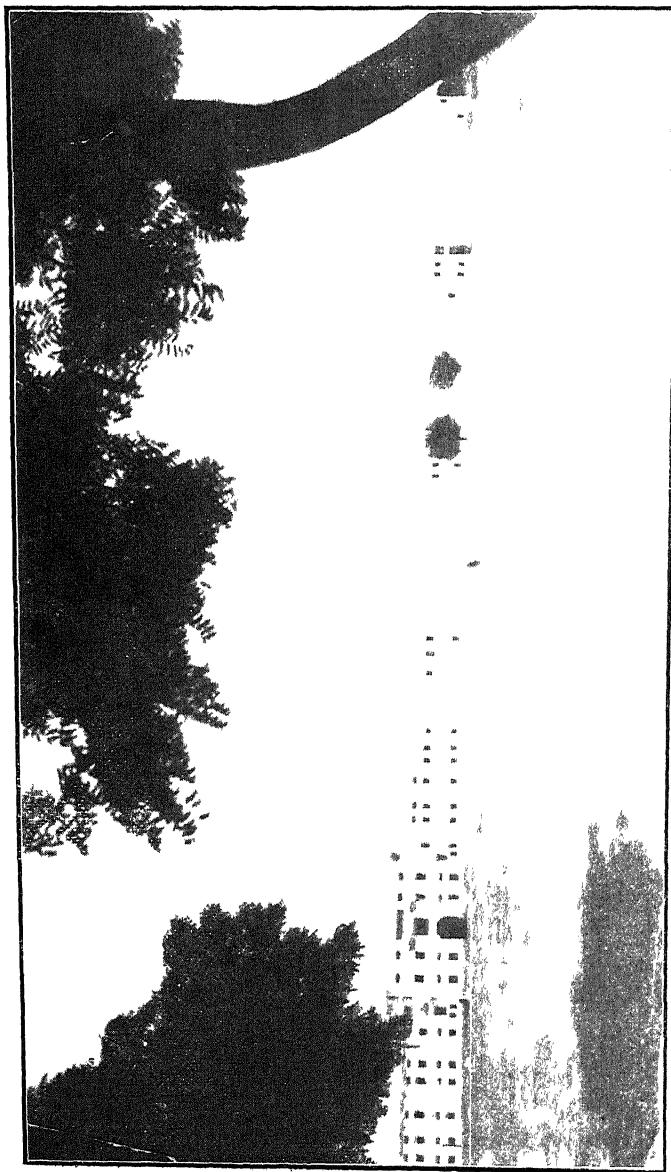
The world has moved through different periods and we are now in what may be called

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the first era of world civilisation. The invention and spread of new means of rapid communication affecting both the movement of persons and transfer of ideas have made the world into a single whole. This intermingling of races and cultures makes it possible for the world to grow into a moral community, a single commonwealth in which the human race will find ordered peace, settled government, material prosperity, the reign of law and freedom for all, which is the goal towards which all previous history has been leading. The instinct for such a community is in human nature. The ordinary human being is decent, is peacefully inclined, hates bloodshed, has no joy in battle. This fundamental humanity has kept our race going. It is to be seen in the mother at the cradle of her child, in the ploughman at his furrow, in the scientist in his laboratory and in the young and the old when they love and worship. This love of man, this faith in the moral structure of society has upheld the spirit of man against many tyrannies and shall uphold it still.

Men, as we find them, however, are artificial products. We are made one way and society remakes us in another way. Our relationship with fellow-beings have become unnatural and artificial. We are made to feel, not that we are human but that we are Hindu or Moslem, French or German, Jew or Gentile.

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Our barbarous laws and institutions seduce us from our natural feelings of sympathy and fellowship. Fear, suspicion and resentment arise and wars which become each year more destructive are waged for the glory of the fictional abstractions of race and nation, class and creed. The world cannot permanently organise its life in an unjust and unnatural way without reaping chaos and conflict. The root cause of our present trouble is an inter-dependent world worked on a particularist basis. If moral principles are set at naught, if we are not faithful to the instinct of the common man, nemesis will overtake us.

We are filled with despair by the violence of the contemporary world. Recent events in China, Abyssinia, Czeckoslovakia and Spain constitute a betrayal of moral values. Faith and hope have all but succumbed. Honour and magnanimity have decayed. The hot embers of sullen discontent and savage hatred smoulder everywhere. A peace which arises from mere weariness of war and founded on international injustice and political opportunism has no element of permanance in it. The immense armaments in process of anxious accumulation in Great Britain, France and the United States of America do not give us any feeling of security. The world is shaken and exhausted and man has become an anguished being, living in the uncertainty of to-morrow, left alien in a

world where there is neither joy nor love nor light nor certitude nor peace nor help nor pain. What is there to cling to in a world of madness and doom, of waste and hideousness? The whole machinery of modern civilisation is failing to perform even the basic function of keeping men alive. A world in agony asks "Is civilisation to end up in a mangled mass of twisted metal and torn flesh?" This cry of pain is indeed evidence that in spite of its sickness the body is alive and fighting for life. Though we must deeply deplore the outlawry, the savagery, the wantonness of the present, there is hope in that the fallow ground of the whole world is being broken up. Broken soil is full of promise. "The world is on fire and the sparks are flying."

It is easy to blame the Germans, the Italians and the Japanese for the present condition of the world, but they are like ourselves. We, perhaps, in their condition will do the same. Their weaknesses and virtues are in profound solidarity with our weaknesses and virtues. Their development is the outgrowth of an environment heavily weighted with tragedy and failure, mistakes and misunderstandings, resentments and hatreds. Take, for example, the case of the Germans. They lost a war and an incompetent government slipped in after the fall of the monarchy, while the best part of the nation was still at the front.

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They suffered ignominy and hardships at the hands of the victors in the post-war period. They writhed under military invasion and financial subjection in peace time. To restore national pride and self-confidence, to resist the threat of a proletarian philosophy which increased middle class anxiety, the Nazi movement sprang up. We would not have behaved differently if we were in the position of the Germans. The problem ahead of us is a universal problem, a problem of humanity not of this or that country.

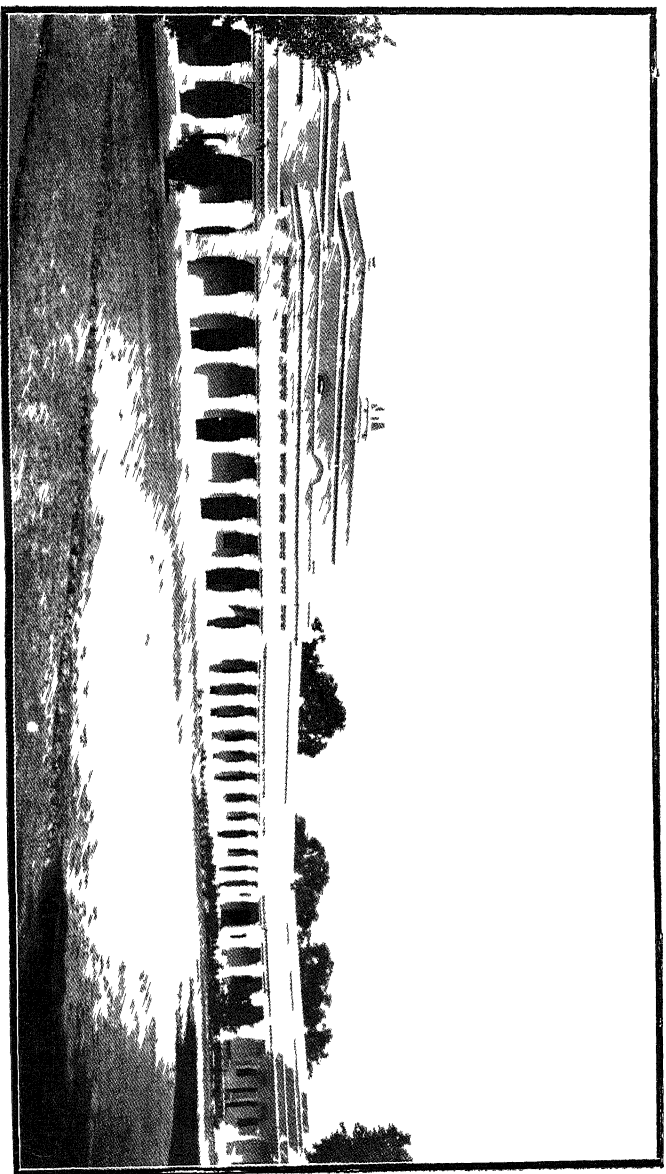
The world has seen a number of civilisations on which the dust of ages has settled. The jungle has conquered their great centres and jackals howl there in the moonlight. The spade of the archaeologist uncovers for us dead cities that we may behold in them our pride and our shame. We assumed that whatever may be the changes and developments, the solid structure of Western Civilisation was itself enduring and permanent but we now see how appallingly insecure it is. The menace of war has been a writing on the wall. The present world situation is a spiritual challenge. We must either accept it or perish. It is not safe to be immoral. Evil systems inevitably destroy themselves by their own greed and egotism. Against the rock of moral law, earth's conquerors and exploiters hurl themselves eventually to their own destructions. While

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yet there is time, there is not much left, we must take steps to prevent the helpless rush of man to his doom.

Revolutions rest on basic psychological changes in the minds of men. A certain degree of soul, Ben Johnson maintained, is indispensable to keep the body from destruction. If we would save the world from decay, we must do something to it with our spirit. We have to rebuild the city in the soul which has been so disastrously invaded by the false gods of pride and power and undermined by selfishness and stupidity.

A new generation is growing up with a new awareness of the oneness of humanity. It understands that peace is a positive achievement, calling for high enterprise. It is aware that world peace demands world justice and the obstacles to it are in the hearts of men which have been corrupted, in their prides and jealousies, in their attachment to comforts and possessions at other people's expense. National ambitions and racial passions blind us to real ends and long views. Unless we remove the sources of injustice and fear, we cannot make the world safe for peace. The history of man has been a continual struggle between the ideal of a moral community and the immoral forces of greed, stupidity and violence, individual and corporate. We must refine the spirit of patriotism



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so as to make it a pathway from man to mankind. A world conference to examine territorial grievances, control of raw materials and possibilities of collateral disarmament and establish the freedom of all nations, small or great, weak or strong may be summoned and if the powerful nations approach the task in a chastened spirit and in the faith that nations like individuals are great not by what they acquire but by what they resign, we may get nearer our goal.

IV

Britain and India.

Great Britain can work for a liberal and democratic civilisation by transforming her empire into a commonwealth of free nations and that will be her greatest contribution to a better world order. It is difficult to understand her foreign policy or her Indian policy. It is unimaginable how Great Britain and France could view with indifference, if not sympathy, the consolidation of the dictatorships. If the present policy is persisted in, very soon, Holland and Belgium, Switzerland and Scandinavia will get into the orbit of the Berlin-Rome axis. Even today the British Government seems to be genuinely indifferent to the kind of government which will emerge from the Spanish war. No one can say with confidence what Great Britain

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will do in the matter of the Colonies or German advance into Ukraine. One explanation is that class feeling has prevailed over patriotism among the governing classes of Britain. Another is that the British people have lost their ambition and their ingrained sense of being the greatest power in the world and so have yielded to other powers and themselves suffered a loss of strength and prestige.

In a disordered world we seem to occupy a sheltered position and enjoy in some measure the amenities of civilised life. In the British Empire our position is a junior and subordinate one. So far as our defences go, we are in a helpless condition. Even now a great menace to the peace and safety of our country is growing up in the far East and its tremors are felt in Siam and Burma. Germany is striving to extend her influence through Asia Minor, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan to the frontiers of India. In the dangerous condition of the world, where three great powers are acting in concert, adopting the doctrine of force as the inspiration of their policies, Britain must reaffirm her faith in freedom and democracy, not by words but by deeds and weld together the different dominions into unity on the basis of devotion to these ideals. Self-interest, international decency and justice demand the establishment of self-government in India. The most urgent

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problem is to work out a federation, not on the lines of the Government of India Act, but on lines which will foster and further internal unity among the different communities and between provinces and states. So long as India has to submit to a constitution imposed on her, she is not free. One of the greatest historians of the world, the German Theodor Mommsen, emphasises a truth which modern Germany has forgotten and Great Britain will have to remember if her methods are to be distinguished from those of Germany. "According to the same law of nature in virtue of which the smallest organism infinitely surpasses that most artistic machine, every constitution however defective, which gives play to the free self-determination of a majority of citizens infinitely surpasses the most brilliant and humane absolutism, for the former is capable of development and therefore living; the latter is what it is and therefore dead.*" If Britain fails to develop in time a strong and self-governing India, she cannot escape the destruction which has overcome empires as proud and seemingly as firmly rooted as her own. No nation is fully grown up until it has been purged of egotism and pride.

V

The meaning of Democracy.

The religious tradition of India justifies democracy and if she has not been faithful to this principle, she has paid for it by her suffering and subjection. Spirit is never more persuasive than when it suffers silently beneath the heel of oppression. Democracy is an achievement forged in the fires which make a nation's soul. When I speak of democracy, I am referring not so much to parliamentary institutions as to the dignity of man, the recognition of the fundamental right of all men to develop the possibilities in them. The common man is not common. He is precious, has in him the power to assert his nature against the iron web of necessity. To tear his texture, to trample him in blood and filth is an unspeakable crime.

There are doubts expressed today about democracy as a political arrangement. The rise of dictatorships and the collapse of democracies in Europe have made the problem an intriguing one. What is it, after all, that the mass of people desire? "As a rule," said Viscount Bryce, "that which the mass of any people desires is not to govern itself but to be well-governed." Totalitarian States may claim to offer good government, though the funda-

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mental assumptions of democracy such as equality before law, in suffrage, in opportunity are violated by them. Even in democracies, as recent events show, we have no popular control over fundamental questions of policy and directions. Take all in all, in this imperfect world, democratic government is the most satisfactory. It is based on the fundamental principles that, in the long run, government should rest on the consent of the governed and that there should be freedom of expression for minority groups. Without such freedom, the principle of consent loses its value. In democratic institutions, there is protection against the abuse of power. Irresponsible power is bound to be used in the interests of the group which possesses it. Again, freedom of expression is the only way by which we can let truth work on the minds of men. If we repress freedom of speech, we make truth subservient to the interests of the powerful group. The increasing regimentation of mind and the propaganda by which we dope the people with false news and keep them ignorant of the facts even in so called democratic countries, show how parasitical groups govern in them. A free press is an essential element of a free country, but it must be a responsible press. A corrupt press will poison the springs of social life. Besides, even when democratic government is inefficient and expensive, it is a process of education by which people learn

to exercise responsibility. Again, it provides for orderly change. We can transfer power to other groups without social convulsions. Such peaceful and orderly changes by the process of law are the foundation of all civilised society. If we discard democracy, we can bring about changes only by revolutions.

VI

Economic Justice.

Democracy does not mean a dead level in character and contribution, ability and insight. It is an equality of opportunity in matters of food, health, and education. It implies economic justice. If we are content with anything less, democracy is mockery. Economic justice involves a reshaping of the economic order. Capitalism is criticised from different points of view but here I may just indicate how it affects a democratic policy of life. By permitting a staggering degree of inequality with its inevitable consequences of poverty and lack of opportunity for masses of men, women and children, it produces disturbance. This inequality is morally dangerous. It encourages the privileged sections of society to live in waste and luxury, with an utterly false sense of values, in a callous disregard of what their superior privilege means to the victims of the process which accords to them the privileges.

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We all know people whom wealth and ease have made decadent, who despise or patronise those presumed to be lower in the social scale, while acting with becoming humility to those who are considered to be higher. We cannot run a society where millions lack what a few people take for granted as necessities of life. Fellowship is difficult where classes are separated by snobbishness and bitterness, open or subdued, is bound to be felt. Again, capitalism appeals to acquisitive instincts. While we cannot be expected to outgrow the profit motive completely, the other sides of human nature such as loyalty to the community, desire to do a good job tend to atrophy. Wealth is regarded as the symbol of success and exploitation is assumed to be essential for comfort. Besides, political democracy cannot function properly so long as we have concentration of economic power in a few, though the forms of democracy may be kept up. Fear of losing one's job or of exposing one's dependents to starvation is a terrible threat to personal integrity. Naturally those who live under such a fear tend to group themselves into unions and they again cause conflicts. An economic order based on the social ownership of large sources of wealth and power would be far less dangerous to ethical life and more helpful to social fellowship. Comfortable classes should not proclaim that material things are unimportant. Their generosity is no substitute for justice which demands

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that the economic level of the whole population should be raised to a point where there will be a decent standard of life and genuine equal opportunity for all. Economic rewards should not be divorced from services. Acquisition of wealth must be contingent on the discharge of social obligation and profits derived from certain sources and exceeding a certain amount, must be declared unlawful. Huge incomes can be restricted by means of taxes. Taxation is democratic while confiscation is tyrannical. A collectivist society becomes tyrannical and spells great dangers to human life and freedom. But that is no justification for preserving the *status quo*, which does regiment the conditions of life for masses while securing freedom for a few. Social revolutions are executed by those who are driven by hunger and dreams, by the felt need and the sure hope. They may face a hostile and dangerous world but their victory is certain and it is the path of wisdom to bring about changes by peaceful and constitutional methods. The programme of the future cannot be imposed on us by theorists. It will have to be hammered out in the give and take of the political struggle itself. Those who enter it must do so with a clear mind and a clean conscience.

Economic schemes are relative to the degree of social and economic development of the different communities. The general

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principles of the ancient Indian ideal of distributive justice by which not only the labourers and the cultivators but the barbers and the washermen, sweepers and watchmen were all allowed a share in the produce of the field may be modified to suit present conditions. The different functional groups are not classes which denote barriers and cleavage. Class in the sense of a group which makes its own peculiar contributions to the general welfare is right and legitimate. We will have different groups of farmers, of weavers, of lawyers and of doctors. They are different agencies in the national endeavour. No group, however humble its work, should inspire aloofness any more than differences of functions among the members of a cricket team. There are varying kinds of service but not varying classes of individuals. Honour and comradeship, humanity and sympathy are found among all classes. The distribution of classes into upper and lower should designate degrees of development in these qualities and not in their opposites of greed, selfishness and inhumanity. It is difficult to make society believe that a sweeper is as necessary as an engineer so long as society rewards them so unequally for their services. While equalisation of rewards is impossible, the present disparities should be diminished. But even revolutionary changes in the economic order can be brought about by means of persuasion. The innate conserva-

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tion of the people requires that even drastic changes should be brought about by constitutional methods. To decide conflicts by force is to abandon the democratic method of reason, conciliation and conference. In our anxiety to bring about a social revolution, we should not resort to force and thus destroy the democratic system. In every society we find an element of force and an element of persuasion. The better the society the more it depends on persuasion and the less on force. It must seek to harmonise the delicately balanced system between the rights of the individual and the obligations to society. A society without social impulses cannot cohere ; a society without individual life cannot survive.

But democracy is not to be interpreted as a levelling down. The majority of men and women are not interested in the higher pursuits of the mind. They hate mental exercise and love physical enjoyment. If you provide them with food and drink, sexual enjoyment and noisy distractions they are perfectly happy. For them the higher life is unspeakably gloomy. If any one believes that the social millennium will dawn near if only we have a sufficiency of material goods for all, I would advise him to go to any large city and note what the majority of men and women who have prosperity and leisure do. To those who have the least spark of humanity, their

contentment with life at the animal level and callousness to any thing higher seems a dreadful calamity, though those who are in it sing and laugh and are utterly insensible to their own misery. If we have headache we feel the pain but we are painfully unconscious of this ignorance (*Avidya*) which has us by the throat. It is the function of universities to make us conscious of our limitations.

VIII

Conclusion.

It is essential to develop the democratic habit of man in dealing with class conflicts and communal divisions. This habit is founded on the rarest of all virtues, tolerance, which is a symptom of understanding, self-possession and power. To be tolerant is to be humane and civilised; to be intolerant is to confess a mean and trivial spirit. The desire to regulate other people by our own tastes and opinions is the outcome of a complex of fear, jealousy and impudence. To persuade others to one's own views is right; to penalise them if we cannot, is wrong. India is a mould into which many different potters poured their clay. Her hospitality towards other cultures and civilisation is well known and its development requires to be encouraged by our school and colleges. If we are to pursue the study of religion and

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culture in a way appropriate to the age in which we live, we need the helpful stimulus of contacts. The establishment of a chair of Islamic civilisation in this university may be seriously considered.

My young friends, our country is in a state of flux and you will have to choose with care your path. You will have to make very hard decisions. There are so many groups political and economic which ask for your allegiance. And you are young. To be young is to live in the age of conviction. What one knows one knows absolutely. There can be no argument about it. It just is so. May I beg you to seek strength in the faith on which this institution is built and stand up for it and that is much, for victory is not in our hands.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Honourable Sir Maurice Gwyer's Address.

Your Highness, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, ladies and Gentlemen,—

I esteem it a great honour to have been invited here today and to visit for the first time this sacred city, to which so many generations of men have looked for inspiration, at whose shrines they have quickened their faith, and which has been the home of so much learning, both secular and divine. And there is an added pleasure in receiving my invitation, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, from your hands, because you are now a member of my own dear University, the place which above all others holds my loyalty and my love. I come here too as the Vice-Chancellor of the third and youngest of the three all-India Universities, the youngest and, I fear I must add, the least fortunate of the three. I was present a week ago at the sister University of Aligarh, and seeing the range and magnificence of the buildings both in that University and in this, I find myself in the state of mind attributed to that Queen of Sheba who visited King Solomon at the height of his fame, and who, after seeing the glories of his city, his temple and his palaces, complained that the

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half had not been told her and that now she had seen them with her own eyes there was no more spirit in her. Yet I am filled with a certain hope, for it may be that one day even the benefactors of Benares and Aligarh will find no more buildings to erect and no more Chairs or Faculties to endow; and then perhaps, still seeking an outlet for their generous instincts, they will turn to the University of Delhi and pour into her lap those abundant gifts with which they have already earned the gratitude of university teachers and students elsewhere. I am persuaded too that, if this should happen, neither Benares nor Aligarh will feel jealousy or envy towards their younger sister. There is room for three all-India Universities, each fulfilling its own peculiar task; there will be no vulgar competition between them, and the only rivalry will be a liberal and generous rivalry.

It is customary on occasions like this for a speaker to dwell for the most part on academic or educational topics; and if I forsake that custom today and indulge in historical reflection, I hope that the state of public affairs in India, in Europe, and indeed all over the world, may be held to excuse me. The study of history is vain if it does no more than minister to an intellectual curiosity and does not furnish analogies and examples which may guide us in like situations and at the least save us from falling into error. There is a proverbial saying

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that history repeats itself, which as a statement of fact is manifestly untrue, but which nevertheless contains within itself a germ of truth. The great events and processes of history can never repeat themselves, but since man is the raw material of history, and his hopes, his ambitions, and his passions, his littleness as well as his greatness, do not differ much from generation to generation, though their background changes, we may learn from our study of the past what the consequences are likely to be of this type of action or of that.

The conception of history has changed greatly even during my own life time. The world was once thought of as a vast arena where a few great men, monarchs and their counsellors, warriors, priests and prophets, guided and directed the destinies of common men. This conception no doubt had in part its origin in a social system now past or passing; but today an almost perverse delight seems to be taken in destroying reputations which were once held in honour, and that by methods as vulgar as the name which contemporary slang has given to the process itself. The task of the historian is now thought to be the apprehension and analysis of vast elemental forces, climatic, geographic or economic, which compel mankind inexorably along a predestined road; while those who would have figured as great men in an earlier epoch are seen as puppets or

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marionettes, jerked hither and thither by agencies which they may dimly perceive but cannot hope to control. The emergence of the masses as a political force, the elevation of democracy from a political expedient into a moral principle, and the growth of scientific knowledge, have enlarged and made more sensitive the historian's vision, and statesmen themselves have at times been not unwilling to impute responsibility for their own failures to the operation of conveniently discovered natural laws.

There is something to be said for both of these conceptions, but the real truth seems to lie midway between them. In any historical situation it is possible always to distinguish two sets of factors: the first, the elemental forces, whatever they may be, dominating or restricting all human activity; and the second, the free will of individuals and groups which is, it is true, conditioned in many respects by those forces, but which in its turn is able to intensify or moderate them, and even harness them for the general good. The relative importance of these sets of factors varies from age to age. There are times when the human race appears to be flung hither and thither as by some catastrophic eruption of nature, so that the ideas of free will and self-determination appear a mockery; but at others man appears still as master of his fate and able still to

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exercise a decisive influence upon the course of events.

This is especially the case at those critical periods which recur from time to time in the history of the world. There are moments when mankind seems to come to a cross-roads and there pauses, ignorant or uncertain which path he is going to take. At these times the forces of which I have spoken as impelling him in one direction or the other are so nicely balanced that no one can say which will ultimately prevail; and for a space of time, sometimes for a period of years, at others perhaps only for a few days, the march of events appears to be suspended until something occurs which tilts the balance one way or the other. It is at such time that the human will may be decisive; and, just as a vast and complicated piece of machinery may be set in motion by the pressure of one man's hand, because the equipoise is so exactly adjusted, so the determination of a single individual or group may give the advantage to one set of forces, and history resumes its march in one direction and not in the other. Thus it is that men are sometimes able to affect for good or ill not only their own generation but the fortunes of generations still unborn, and awful then is the responsibility which they assume or which is thrust upon them.

The history of Germany since the middle

of the last century illustrates what I have said. In the fifteen years immediately preceding the Austrian war of 1866, parliamentary liberalism in Prussia was holding its own and even making headway against the authoritarian tradition represented by the army and the landed aristocracy. The contemporary observer might well have supposed that Prussia was destined to develop along the same lines as Great Britain; and if Bismarck had not been victorious in his struggle with the Prussian Parliament in 1862, the Germany of Goethe might have supplanted the Germany of Frederick the Great. An era of peace and co-operation with other nations might then have followed, instead of an era of aggressive nationalism and war. But the whole force of Bismarck's powerful intellect and iron will were thrown into the scale against the progressive parties; he had his way, and three generations Europe has paid the price in blood and treasure.

Has not India of today entered a period when she too is standing at the cross-roads, and when in her case also the forces which will determine her future history seem still to be evenly balanced? Some of them make for peaceful development, for co-operation with other nations but with freedom for her own political and spiritual evolution. Others make for division and civil strife and for the sterility and barrenness which they engender. She is

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faced with the necessity for finding a solution not only for the problem of her relations with Great Britain but also for the problem of her own domestic differences; and because of the equipoise of forces I cannot doubt that in India also the human will and human character will prove decisive in the ultimate determination of the path which she is to take.

These are delicate matters to discuss and not least for one who has the honour to hold my present office, but detachment from political strife sometimes assists in bringing things into another perspective.

I see two pictures before me. I see my own country, inhabited by a united and homogeneous people, whose island home has enabled them to pursue their constitutional development with little or no interference from without, who solved the problem of domestic unity two hundred and fifty years ago and who during the last two hundred years have been undisturbed by rebellion or civil tumult; unimaginative perhaps by reason of their insular position in their relations with foreign lands; falling sometimes into grievous error—and what country has not?—but with a strain of high idealism persisting through all their policies, passionate lovers of liberty and enjoy its blessings; conscious of a great work done in India, but

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recognizing that the time must come when India assumes control of her own destinies; who, warned by the past distractions of India and the melancholy spectacle of Europe today, seek to discern that concordat which will be the sign for relinquishing a government so long held in trust. I see on the other side a vast sub-continent, inhabited by proud and ancient peoples, with a history and civilization as old as that of any of the peoples of Europe, gifted and sensitive, who, having closely observed the political doctrines taught and practised by the people of Great Britain, have now sought to follow what seemed to them so excellent an example; who with the growth of the national spirit and conscious of great intellectual powers, fret at the least suggestion of foreign rule. no matter how light the rule and whether it be beneficent or harsh; who, looking ardently forward to the fulfilment of their desires, see with dismay a sort of disintegration of that national unity which had seemed to them so sure and so permanent.

These are the two pictures as I see them. Perhaps you will see them differently, but in the main I am persuaded that the outlines are correct. And this is the thought which they bring into my mind: how closely does the purpose of one country approximate to the ambition of the other and how small a space is it which seems to separate the two! Can it

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be that the differences between them are no more than differences of method ?

The long period during which the two countries have been associated has seen many changes, but perhaps none more profound or significant than in the new conceptions both of democracy and of international relations. The task confronting this generation is to devise a political expression for this unexampled metamorphosis, and to discover a form of constitution adequate at once to the idealism of the times and to the strains that the government of so immense a country must inevitably impose. With such great issues pending, and with decisions to be taken affecting the life of the peoples of India for many generations to come, what can be more fitting in these halls devoted to study and research than to stand aside for a moment from current controversies, and to seek in the experience of other countries, when they too have been called upon to plan deliberately and afresh their political life, counsel and guidance in that most difficult of arts, the construction of the framework of a State ? This may often be a more arduous task than to govern the State when made ; and the arts appropriate to the one are informed by principles different from those appropriate to the other. For a constitution is an instrument intended permanently to regulate the relations between citizen and citizen and between citizens

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and the State. It is not like an ordinary piece of legislation; for it prescribes itself the method whereby the future laws of the State are to be made or altered.

It is of the essence of a democratic constitution (and I am concerned with no other) that ultimately, and after full discussion and deliberation, the popular will shall prevail; and no more effective political expedient has yet been discovered to achieve this result than that of counting votes. But it remains a political expedient and is not to be elevated into a moral principle. The democratic machine would scarcely be workable without majority decision in some form; but it works because those whom it may affect are content to live under it, and they will only be content when they are confident that the expedient will not be employed to do them injustice, and because the majority of today may become the minority of tomorrow.

These considerations cannot however apply to the constitutional instrument itself, which can only be based upon a general agreement. The idea of the social contract is no doubt a fiction, but the philosophers who expounded it had at least grasped the truth that a political society, if it is to have a chance of life, must originate in the common agreement of those who compose it. I speak of a society self-

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contained and self-governing; for history can provide examples enough of societies of another kind which have existed for long periods, perhaps even for centuries, when held together by a strong hand, whether domestic or foreign. But a self-contained and self-governing State cannot survive if the elements which compose it are unwilling bed-fellows. The strains and stresses which a compulsory partnership sets up will in the end prove fatal. The world is strewn with the ruins of paper constitutions which failed because they ignored this simple truth; and many of the evils of Europe today have arisen from the creation of States with an artificial unity, where a facade of constitutional safeguards and the buttress of solemn guarantees have served, if only for a time, to conceal the hollowness of the internal structure. A constitution is not to be drafted on assumptions, for in so vital and fundamental a matter the results of one false step are incalculable. Let a constitution be made, it is sometimes said, and in the sunshine of our content all differences will vanish like the morning mists. So too the unwilling bride may be persuaded that the affection which she does not feel will follow marriage. Sometimes it may; but if it does not, how disastrous to the union are the consequences and how irretrievable!

To urge that general agreement is a condition precedent to the establishment of a success-

ful constitution is not to put obstacles in the way of agreement. It is the beginning of wisdom, for it points out the first and cardinal step which must be taken ; and thus we arrive at the next question, how is this agreement to be secured, or, if already existing, to be ascertained ? Different countries have made trial of different methods, and I am aware that at the present time many people in India feel a special attraction to the method known as the Constituent Assembly. Here my theme comes so close to current politics that even before an academic audience I hesitate to do more than record the principal instances where Constituent Assemblies have been convoked and tested. But I may be permitted at least to make this observation. The Constituent Assemblies, elected on a wide franchise which have sought to combine the securing of unity among diverse elements with the writing of the new constitution itself, have not always had a happy result. The Constituent Assembly after the French Revolution ended in committees of public safety, in Napoleon, and in twenty years of war. The experiment repeated sixty years later produced another Napoleon, war and a disastrous defeat. Of the German National Assembly at Frankfurt in 1848, an English historian has written : "It was patriotic, ambitious, laborious, quick to resent foreign injuries, solicitous to extend German power, and notable as having created the original nucleus of a German navy. After

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elaborate discussions characterized by a high seriousness it produced a democratic constitution for united Germany, of which there was no feature more valuable than a long array of scrupulous provisions for the protection of personal liberty. Yet its work was in vain. It is one of the tragedies of modern history that this Assembly, launched on a vast surge of national enthusiasm, was unable to accomplish its self-appointed task, and that the union of Germany was achieved, not by the give and take of Parliamentary argument, but by the blood and iron of civil and foreign war." The constitution produced by the Assembly at Weimar in 1919 did not even survive to be extinguished by the present war, but had died long since. The Russian Constituent Assembly, elected in 1917 by the votes of 45 million people, met only once. The Bolshevik minority withdrew after the refusal of the Assembly to discuss a Bolshevik declaration. The Assembly proclaimed Russia to be a Democratic Federative Republic and then adjourned; but before the day appointed for the second sitting the Soviet Executive Committee had decreed its dissolution and their soldiers barred all approaches to the place where the Assembly should have met.

The French National Assembly did indeed produce a constitution on paper, but it failed and was succeeded by a dictatorship, because,

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intoxicated with theory, it took no account of realities. Its nineteenth century successor repeated the error and suffered the same consequences. The German Assemblies of 1848 and 1919 were neither of them strong enough to persuade or master their discordant elements; and the Bolsheviks were determined from the first that the Russian Assembly should be extinguished at the earliest moment, and that the will of the minority should prevail

By way of contrast, it is profitable to look at the procedure adopted for the purpose of bringing into existence the constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa. In Canada the idea of a federal constitution had been familiar for many years before the British North America Act; but the scheme which finally issued in the Act originated in 1864 at a conference of Ministers from the Maritime Provinces, and from Upper and Lower Canada, then united in a single Province. The resolutions adopted by the Conference were approved in Upper and Lower Canada in the following year, and a delegation visited London to discuss defence and other matters. In 1866 the legislatures of the Maritime Provinces approved the scheme, and, after a meeting in London between Canadian representatives and the British Government, the terms were finally agreed upon and the Act became law in 1867. In Australia a Federal Council with very

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limited powers had been set up by Statute as long ago as 1885, and¹ the idea of federation had never lacked support. At a Conference held in Sydney in 1891, each Australian State sent delegates and passed a number of resolutions. In 1895 a Premiers' conference agreed that ten delegates elected by the electors of each State should meet to draft a constitution, to be afterwards submitted to a referendum in each. The Convention met in 1897 and drafted a constitution which after consideration by the different parliaments was finally completed in 1898 and submitted to a referendum in each State*. The draft was considered by another Premiers' conference which suggested amendments for the purpose of meeting criticisms, and after discussions with the British Government an Act was introduced, which became law in 1900. In South Africa the earlier discussions on federation came to an end with the disannexation of the Transval, and it was not until after the South African War of 1899-1902 that it once more became a living issue. It was forced on South Africa by economic causes, arising from the existence of our co-terminous independent governments, two of them without sea frontiers, with a European population extremely small in proportion to the vast areas which it inhabited. In 1908 a

*Western Australia held a referendum and joined the Federation after the passing of the Act but before the date of the proclamation bringing the Commonwealth of Australia into existence.

Railway and Customs Conference agreed to recommend that delegates should be appointed to draft a Federal Constitution ; and a convention of thirty-three delegates appointed for that purpose met later in the same year. The draft constitution ultimately agreed upon was for a Union, and not a Federation, of South Africa; and in this form it was submitted to and approved by the Parliaments of three States and by a referendum in the fourth ; and the South Africa Act became law in 1909. Here, then, are three constitutions which became law and are still in successful operation. They have been amended since they were made, but in no fundamental respect, and they continue generally to enjoy the confidence of the peoples for whom they were designed. The important thing to observe is that in each of the three cases the body which hammered out the scheme consisted of a very small number of delegates, and that though no doubt there were difficulties to be overcome, there was no organized volume of opinion which either refused to co-operate or which recorded its dissent from the scheme ultimately adopted.

In a body of delegates such as I have described, men come to know each other better, to appreciate the strong points of another's case and to realize the weaker points of their own. The impact of mind upon mind has its effect, and after some time (such is the experi-

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ence of those who have taken part in transactions of the kind) a sort of corporate sense is born, out of which there may emerge, if not a common will, at least a common desire to produce results. I do not say that this always or necessarily happens, but it can and does happen ; for it is impossible for a body of men to labour together with a common object for any considerable period of time, without asperities becoming softened, misunderstandings lessened and mutual respect engendered. It has been said paradoxically that the whole purpose of the British Constitution is to get twelve men into a jury box ; and it is an extraordinary thing how those twelve men, up to that moment unknown to one another and with nothing to guide them except shrewd common sense and a desire to arrive at a just decision, do in some mysterious way, after they have heard the evidence and have retired to their room to discuss and deliberate in private, almost invariably arrive at a right decision. I do not of course say that the deliberations of a jury are comparable to those of a body discussing a constitution ; but they do illustrate the process by which number of individuals with a sense of public responsibility and devoted to a common task can arrive at a common verdict.

I draw attention to all these matters, because as it seems to me they deserve to be studied and considered by those whose natural

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and reasonable desire it is that an Indian constitution should receive an imprimatur from Indians themselves. There are many lessons to be learnt from the constitutional history of France, Germany and Russia on the one hand, and of Canada, Australia and South Africa on the other. One is surely this, that it is not the making of the constitution itself which necessarily produces agreement; a second, that no agreement of any kind is possible without personal contacts, and certainly is not to be achieved by a long range artillery duel; a third, that constitution-making is a laborious affair, which requires infinite pains and patience, if lasting results are to be achieved.

I am in the secrets of no government or party; I speak for myself alone. And with a great admiration and affection, if I may without impertinence be allowed to say so, for the country in which for the time being my lot is cast, I plead for a new approach to an intractable problem and for that touch of imagination which can transform a whole situation as by the wand of a magician. "Refined policy", said Edmund Burke, "ever has been the parent of confusion, and ever will be so as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last, is, let me say, of no mean force in the government of mankind.

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Genuine simplicity of heart is a healing and cementing principle." This is a wise and wholesome saying in a world of barren dialectic and of charge and countercharge. And the agreement for which I plead is not the facile arrangement which can always be secured by one party conceding all the claims of the other; not a mechanical compromise, with the ambiguous formula which each party hopes to interpret to its own advantage; but a union of hearts,—an agreement free from illusion, based upon realities and upon mutual confidence and trust. On these foundations and upon no others can great States be built. Nor am I ashamed to make such a plea in this place, where the Buddha first preached, and Asoka taught his subjects to practise, the ideals of righteousness and peace.

It may be that the unique and complex problems of Indian government will be found to require a new technique, or perhaps a new application of old principles. I do not know, and I leave these things to persons who are wiser than myself. Why should a suggestion be either rejected at first sight or insisted upon as the only panacea? In God's name let all suggestions be examined and discussed. Is misunderstanding to continue to breed misunderstanding and are motives always to be suspect? And at the end of it all, is India to

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be confronted with the spectre conjured up by a poet's imagination, the spectre which cried :

“Look in my face ; my name is Might-have-been ;
I am also called No-more, Too-late ; Fare-well.”

I have said that India seems to me to be standing at the cross-roads and that the forces which will predominate and direct her path in the coming generation have not yet finally declared themselves. I repeat that it is at such a moment that the influence of individual men and groups of men may become decisive ; and you who are leaving the University today to begin your new life will not be too young to play your part. But a man is not likely to influence his fellow-men unless he has before him a clear conception of his ultimate aim ; and I would beg you therefore to exercise your imaginations upon the future as well as the present. Yet it is not the sole prerogative of the young to dream dreams. I have myself a vision of the India of the future, an India at peace within and without, serene and sure of herself, and no longer pre-occupied with questions of status or of dignity ; a united nation, not turned in upon herself, but holding out her hands to the East and to the West ; clinging tenaciously to all that is best in her own tradition, but not despising knowledge or ideas because they

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originate in other lands; an example to Europe and to the world of a country embracing men of diverse races, tongues and creeds in a single polity; an equal partner in that great company of free but associated nations which still holds in honour the principles of justice and of truth, and of honest and kindly dealing between man and man.

This in my country is the season of peace and goodwill. Peace and goodwill are hard to find today in Europe; but may they not still find a refuge in India? I recall the words of a very moving prayer, part of the liturgy of my own faith and written centuries ago at a time of great bitterness and conflict: "Give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord; so we may henceforth be all of one heart, and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity." And with this supplication to Almighty God, to whom all hearts are open and from whom no secrets are hid, let me conclude my address to you today.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Address

I consider it a proud privilege to be invited to address the Convocation of your great University, and I thank you sincerely for the honour which you have bestowed on me. Your University cannot claim a long history bearing marks of the toil of generations but within the short period of its existence it has secured a fame and a reputation peculiar to itself which have justly won for it an abiding place in the hearts of millions of our countrymen. Yours is a great seat of learning that has sprung into life amidst surroundings which remind us of all that is best in Indian civilization. Your renowned city was the metropolis of a Philosopher-King of the Upanishadic Age and the home of Parsvanatha, the celebrated Tirthankara of the Jainas. It stands in the vicinity of the holy steps where Gautama Buddha preached his first sermon. where Sankaracharya distinguished himself in Dialectics and Philosophy, where Tulsidas wrote his immortal songs, and where Sree Chaitanya distributed the nectar of divine love to high and low. Indeed, that great son of India whose name will for ever be enshrined in the hearts

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of his countrymen, not only as the most illustrious of your founders but also as one of the makers of New India, could not have selected a more appropriate site for the Hindu University of Hindusthan. May your University produce sages like Śilabhadra and ardent missionaries like Dipankara who made this country the intellectual centre of the East and carried the torch of Indian civilization beyond the heights of the Himalayas and across the shores of the Southern Seas! Advancing years have now left their mark on the health of Pandit Malaviya, and I voice the sentiments of all sections of Indians throughout the country when I pray that he may yet be spared for a long number of years to see the ever-increasing development of his beloved University as an active and progressive seat of learning dedicated to the service of the nation. The present distinguished occupant of the office of Vice-Chancellor commands universal respect and confidence and the destinies of this University could not have been entrusted to a worthier person whether from this country or from abroad.

I shall not attempt to analyse in detail the activities of your University but I must pay my tribute to the solid progress you have made in diverse branches of knowledge, literary, philosophical, scientific and technical. Scholars have flocked to your portals from distant parts

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of India, attracted by the richness and variety of facilities offered by you. The reputation of some of your departments, specially in the domain of science and engineering, has gone far beyond the limits of this province. If large and generous benefactions have enabled you to erect imposing and commodious buildings which have helped to create a beautiful city of your own, you have also been able to attract to your halls a long line of devoted teachers who have considered it their sacred duty to dedicate themselves to the cause of knowledge. I know financial difficulties have often been a matter of deep anxiety to the authorities of the University, and it is all the greater reason that one should gratefully acknowledge the spirit of sacrifice that has animated the members of your staff who have cheerfully carried on their work, often in spite of great financial uncertainties. I hope the State will do its obvious duty towards this great national institution and, by giving you the necessary financial relief, will enable you to march along, with vigour and courage, on the path of progress and expansion.

Your University has paid and will pay due homage to the cause of spread of knowledge in its diverse branches but I would also ask you to fulfil in an abundant measure your obligations for the revival of the glory of Hindu culture and civilization, not from a narrow or

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bigoted point of view but for strengthening the very root of nationalism in this country. In this great land of ours where twenty-eight crores of Hindus live, the word Hindu sometimes stinks in the nostrils of many a son of India. A re-orientation of Hindu culture and ideals, of which your present Vice-Chancellor is one of the ablest exponents, will not only help to bring back to India that political freedom which she has lost but will also raise the soul of mankind throughout the earth to a higher level of thought and action.

As a University you have a great role to play in re-shaping the destinies of the people of your country. We must bear in mind the cardinal principle that we want to see developed and trained through education the whole nature of our alumni, intellectual, moral and physical, not merely for the purpose of qualifying for any special calling but to bring up good citizens, useful members of society, men, true and fearless, capable of bearing their part with credit in public and private life. Such University-trained men are needed in rich abundance in India today.

Interested persons often try to raise a controversy about the relative claims of elementary education and higher education in India, forgetting the fact that the University expresses the corporate longing of the people

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for the higher things of the spirit. As University men we want that elementary education should spread from one part of the country to the other and that provision should be made for this purpose in a liberal and unstinted manner. Indeed, the failure of Government, which has remained in dominant authority in India for more than a century and a half, to discharge this obligation, is regarded as one of the black spots in its administration. Let us not, however, forget that eminent thinkers in countries where elementary education is both free and compulsory have felt that such an instruction, unless crowned by something which is higher, is not only barren but may even be dangerous. It is not enough to teach our democracy to read unless we also teach it to think. It is the ignorant and unthinking mind, with its trivialities, its uncertainties, and its clouded vision, from which we have most to fear.

Another class of critics in our country often advocates curtailment of University education in view of the increasing acuteness of the problem of unemployment. The Universities of India have on their rolls a little over one lakh of students, which constitute an insignificant proportion of India's population of thirty-five crores. It is not feasible for the University to find employment for all its alumni, although the University should do all it can to establish close contact with those men

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and institutions that control the fields of commerce, business and industry. These must know and understand one another and work in harmony for the larger welfare of the community. It is indeed one of the primary duties of the State, more than that of anybody else, to solve the problem of unemployment. In a country such as ours, where so much still remains to be done, where more than thirty crores of people are still illiterate and the task of spreading the light of knowledge alone may occupy the energy of tens of thousands of educated youths, where raw materials still remain in perpetual abundance and are often at the mercy of exploiters and adventurers, where industrial expansion absorbing the valued services of thousands of skilled technicians yet receives only half-hearted recognition from the State, where the vital agencies of national defence such as the army, the navy and the air-force have yet to expand on an all-India basis, thrown open to all classes of people, free from artificial restrictions—in a country such as ours it is amazing that unemployment should stare ardent educated Indian youths in the face and that unpatriotic demands should be made for arbitrary restriction of higher education. It is true that no country can have a truly national system of education unless it enjoys the blessings of freedom. But let the Universities within their limited sphere do their duty with courage and foresight and so readjust

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and reorganise their courses of study that they may worthily meet the manifold requirements of our country in diverse fields of public service, social, industrial, economic and political.

An important subject to which I should like to refer is the progress of science and industry in this country. Faced as we are with international conflicts of gigantic proportions, it does not require much imagination to see that the scientific and industrial development of a country is essential not only for its prosperity but also for its very existence. In this sphere the Universities in advanced countries, backed by liberal and active support from their Governments, have played a vital part. The industrial development of a country is, however, conditioned not only by research but also by the all-important questions of finance and national policy. In Germany, as is well-known, the intimate co-operation between Government, the Universities and the industrial organisations resulted in a very rapid development, although the industrial revolution came to that country considerably later than in Great Britain. Both in Japan and in Soviet Russia, it is the driving force of Government, mobilising and co-ordinating all the resources of the countries, that has led to their phenomenal industrial progress in recent years.

In this country, by contrast, we have a

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tragic story to tell. The Universities and the industrialists with their limited means have been ploughing practically lonely furrows. The University laboratories, particularly, have worked under great handicaps, which have been only partially lightened by the generous donations of a few benefactors. It is absolutely clear that unless the Government of the country pursues a settled and irrevocable policy of industrialisation and adopts co-ordinated measures for the furtherance of this object, industrial progress in this country can at best be only fitful. The danger of this industrial backwardness does not require any emphasis today. Even the Famine Commission of 1880 recognised that the problem of the dreadful poverty of the Indian people could not be tackled by improvement in agriculture alone, but required also the improvement of industries. The War of 1914-18 again threw into relief the pathetic industrial helplessness of India and the Indian Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916 to make remedial recommendations. But this Commission was specifically debarred from entering into the question of tariffs or any other aspect of the fiscal policy of the Government of India. "The part of Hamlet must be totally omitted," Sir Frederick Nicholson honestly declared in his statement to the Commission. The Commission, nevertheless, made some fairly comprehensive recommendations within the province allotted to it.

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Although the able minute given separately by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya showed that even these fell short of public expectation and had some serious defects, there was no indication that they were going to be implemented by Government. A series of conferences met but the situation remained practically where it had been. It was indeed clear that Government had no heart in a policy of industrialisation, and it has required the war of 1939 to quicken Government again to some semblance of action. The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, which was long overdue, has been set up with a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs, which is all too meagre for research in Government laboratories and the Universities. The corresponding organisation in Great Britain was set up in 1916 and it now enjoys an annual grant of a crore of rupees. Even the National Research Council in Canada, which has a population of only a crore and a quarter, has got an annual grant of about 13 lakhs of rupees from its Government.

It is not yet clear whether Government, in the midst of this deepening crisis, still realises that the industrialisation of India is the *sine qua non* for the safety of India, that the rejection of a full-fledged policy of industrialisation would be tantamount to a betrayal of the people of this country. Our Universities have their brains, their laboratories and their

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workshops, and in a very large measure they can deliver the goods. Benares has amply demonstrated this in her own limited sphere. But where is the evidence that Government is eager or even prepared to mobilise these resources for a policy of industrialisation, which, in order to be effective, must not be confined to munitions industries alone but to all heavy and light industries necessary both in peace and in war? Are we sure that the Eastern Group Conference will assist this all-round industrialisation of India? Or is India going to supply chiefly the raw materials, and perhaps steel, for industries to be built up in countries other than India? And is this going to be done in the name of rationalisation and co-ordination of war effort? The other day the leader of an important delegation to this Conference suggested, with reference to the aircraft industry, that since it was already developed in Australia, the best rationalisation of war effort would be effected by the expansion of that industry in Australia and not so much by creation of aircraft industries *de novo*. There is a genuine apprehension that the industrialisation of India may still be prevented by vested interests and by the inertia of the old policy. Great things can yet be achieved if only the Government of India would realise the danger of adhering to the policy of retaining India as only a market for manufactured goods, of exploiting her raw materials for the benefit of foreign capital, and

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of regarding Indians as only hewers of wood and drawers of water. If Government, the Universities and the industrial organisations are made to participate in a national policy of intensive industrialisation, none can resist the early attainment of India's economic freedom. Deputation of a few hundred Indians for training in British factories can hardly meet our needs and aspirations.

If the State policy hitherto pursued has hampered industrial progress on rational lines consistent with our vast resources and national requirements, there is another direction in which much fuller co-operation is possible, and is indeed essential between the State and the Indian Universities, and this relates to the preparation of our youths for efficient and adequate military training in accordance with the needs of modern warfare. It is not for me to stress here the history of the control of the Indianisation of the so-called Indian army. But I believe there is none today who will deny that the policy of keeping Indians unarmed and unprepared for national defence has not only put this country in a highly perilous state but has practically emasculated the manhood of India. Indian Universities should demand with one voice provision for compulsory military training fully related to mechanised warfare. The existing arrangements for the University Training Corps constitute a most niggardly

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acknowledgment of the rights of the Indian youth. Only the other day one of the able representatives of your province in the Council of State raised the question of reorganising the University Training Corps as mechanised units. The characteristic reply of the Defence Department was "heart-felt sympathy" with the proposal but "great practical difficulties" in accepting it.

It is not want of funds or want of resources that constitutes the stumbling block. Such difficulties are not insuperable. It is the absence of the will, it is that old deep-rooted distrust and apprehension of possible repercussions, that stand in the way of taking effective steps for militarising the youth of India. What has England not done for her own sake in her home territory since 1939? Are not stupendous difficulties melting away before the call of national service and solidarity? Today the European war threatens the destruction of civilization itself. Whatever the merits or demerits of the respective combatants, philosophy, logic or reason will not weigh with any of them at a time when moral forces have almost ceased to function, and that Power will be the ultimate victor which has at its disposal the largest supply of brain-power and those forces of defence and offence which the knowledge and skill of man can invent. We are repeatedly told that India

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may become a part of the war zone sooner than many of us expect. If that be so, it is essential that the defence of India against foreign aggression and from internal chaos should be well-organised and broad-based on gigantic efforts of Indians themselves. Some progress has been made recently but we are satisfied neither with the extent of the arrangements nor, what is more vital, with the policy behind them. The Indian Universities should within their limited sphere be taken into full confidence and the youth of India should be thoroughly trained to defend their hearth and home just as the children of every free country claim to do.

A good deal of confusion prevails today about the ethical doctrine of *Ahimsa*. There is no doubt *Ahimsa* is one of the cardinal virtues taught by Indian thinkers of all denominations throughout ages. "*Dharma*" consists in *Ahimsa*, proclaims the Mahabharata:

*Ahimsa lakshano Dharma
Iti dharmavido viduh.*

"*Ahimsa* confers immortality," declares the Code of Manu. The doctrine of *Ahimsa* is a necessary corollary to the Hindu belief that the supreme spirit pervades the universe (*Sarvam Brāhmamidaṁ jagat*), that everything is strung on the Blessed Lord as rows of gems

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upon a thread (*Sarvamidam protam sūtre manigānā iva*), and that welfare of all beings (*Sarvabhūtahita*) is a sacred duty. *Ahimsa* doubtless implies abstention from selfish and aggressive violence. But does it signify inertia and pacifism under all circumstances? Did not Sree Ramachandra, so kind to righteous men and women, including even Nishadas and Savaras, wage a war to punish the arrogant evil-doer who insulted womanhood and violated the sanctity of the peaceful hermitage? Were not "*Pāñchajanyasya nirghosho Gāndivasya cha nisvanah*" meant to strike terror into the hearts of those whose pride and conceit would not allow them to do justice and repair wrongs? Did not Sree Chaitanya roar like Narasimha to restrain the bigot and the oppressor? Did not the great Asoka himself lay as much stress on *Parākrama* (prowess) as on *Ahimsa* and declare in one of his Rock Edicts that there was a limit to his forbearance? "Should any one do him wrong, that must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty *so far as it can possibly be borne with.*" Even Buddhist theologians prescribed condign punishment for treachery and mischief-making, typified by the career of Devadatta. Readers of the Chachnama need not be told what pusillanimity masquerading as religious quietism may do to endanger the life and liberty of a people and destroy its morale.

If I have understood the history of my

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country aright, a pacifism that refuses to take up arms against injustice and makes one a passive spectator of oppression and aggression, does not represent the real teaching of India. Let us not forget that valour was greatly esteemed by the sages and free rulers of India in olden times. When valour languished, the entire polity weakened. When the sword and the book of knowledge kept together, justice, equity and liberty ruled the affairs of the State. We want to see the reappearance of the ancient spirit of valour tempered with a spiritual wisdom consistent with our genius and present needs, which alone can recover civilization out of the chaotic condition of the modern age.

We live in an age when the need of *Parākrama*, ceaseless exertion, courage and valour, in all spheres of activity affecting the public weal, is more imperative than ever. The menace of invasion from without is within the bounds of possibility. Disruptive forces are at work within the country itself. A nation can only save itself by its own energy. But energy and strength hardly come to a people that does not enjoy the blessings of unity and freedom. Unity need not imply uniformity in every respect. In a country like India, with its huge extent, teeming population and diverse culture, a dull uniformity is not to be encouraged. India is traditionally a land of village republics, and local autonomy has

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had many noble champions whose patriotism and public spirit are beyond question. But accentuation of differences cannot make for strength. A divided India was always a prey to the foreign invader from the days of Alexander and Mahmud of Ghazni to those of Vasco da Gama, Dupleix and Clive. There is much disharmony and disunity in India today. Communal differences have taken such an acute turn that fantastic claims for the vivisection of our Motherland are widely asserted, backed by tacit encouragement of the powers that rule the destinies of India today.

Political and social justice requires, not the disintegration of a country and destruction or humiliation of a class which shows initiative, intelligence and drive, but equality of opportunity for all, genuine freedom for self-fulfilment, in which all men irrespective of caste or creed may share. Slavery withered in the atmosphere of England when Catholic and Protestant, Anglo-Saxon and Jew, Northumbrian and Kentishman obtained equal citizenship. Can freedom flourish where religious and racial groups are encouraged to clamour for separate existence as segregated communities, and majorities are set up by Statute unalterable by an appeal to the general body of citizens? We have to sweep away the cobwebs of mistrust and the miasma of hatred if India is to fulfil her destiny and play her

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part worthily in the Commonwealth of Free Nations.

We are passing through momentous times and, situated as we are, we know not what the future has in store for us. There are obvious limitations within which the Universities of a country such as ours have to function. At this critical period in the history of India it is our duty, first and foremost, to give that training to our youths which will fit them to uphold, with dignity and courage, with faith and fervour, the flag of Indian liberty. Let the Universities hold aloft the torch of learning and make their students devoted to those subjects of study which will make them useful citizens and amply widen their horizon. Let our students become physically strong and morally unbreakable, never forgetting the eternal teachings of our great masters that, even when the body of man is chained, his soul may still remain free and unconquered. Let Benares bring together twenty-eight crores of Hindus, not for the purpose of oppressing the weak and the depressed, but for uniting the Indian people and laying the foundations of the spirit of that true democracy which signifies a Government of the people, for the people, by the people. Political subjection has not yet completely destroyed the soul of India, but the perennial truths of Indian religion and philosophy have to be saved from the clutches

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of fear and superstition which dominate the popular mind, and the hearts of all, the rich and the poor alike, have to be blended together so that love for truth, righteousness, justice and equality that constitute India's great heritage may once again reign supreme.

Today nations intoxicated with power claim to justify their international endeavours and actions, specially in relation to their conduct towards weaker countries which they desire to dominate, on self-deceptive grounds of either God-gifted trusteeship or of elevation to a higher level of thought and achievement. Let us declare without fear and hesitation that to us justice and liberty as propounded by them are meaningless if they do not include their willingness to do justice to and honour the liberty of other men and other nations. It is not so much what our students learn, not so much what they know, as what they are, which should concern us. Do they love liberty, love it so much that they will fight for it, die for it and will accord it to others as well as claim it for themselves? Do they love their country, and not merely say they love it; do they love liberty and justice with a fervour that transcends their desire for ease and wealth and position? Let us remember that nations live or die according to the character of the people. Wealth, arms, munitions, disciplined armies and navies are of

splendid service, but the character of the people, the character into which the youth is growing, determines the life or death of the nation. An Indian politician of repute, in answer to the question as to what would happen if England lost the war, observed the other day that God who has so long protected India would then have to protect both England and India. But we do not wish to treat the Almighty merely as a useful Palladium. Heaven helps only those who help themselves. History affords us examples of great peoples who fell but rose again out of a sheer determination to win back their lost freedom, without which they thought life was not worth living. "Liberty," says Manu, the great Law-giver of our race, "is happiness and dependence is misery." *Sarvam paravasam dukkham, Sarvamātmavasam su-kham*. Do we share the same feelings with equal intensity and devotion? With our ancient heritage, with the spirit of India still ennobling the mind of man, with our vast resources of man power and buried wealth, let a supreme effort be made by all classes of our people to organise themselves effectively for the liberation of our country, and in this task of mighty reconstruction let the trained youth of India heroically play a conspicuous part, not by mere surrender to emotions but tempered by a keen sense of practical wisdom and a thorough and efficient preparation, physical, moral and intellectual.

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Let us pledge ourselves, body and soul, to the preservation of the noblest ideals of our race and culture and a life long devotion to the cause of that enlightened liberty which a great seer has worshipped in words worthy to be written in gold, that will remain engraved in the heart of mankind for all ages to come :

"O Liberty, thou art the god of my idolatry ! Thou art the only deity that hatest bended knees. In thy vast and unvalled temple, beneath the roofless dome, star-gemmed and luminous with suns, thy worshippers stand erect ! They do not cringe, or crawl, or bend their foreheads to the earth. The dust has never borne the impress of their lips. Upon thy altars mothers do not sacrifice their babes, nor men their rights. Thou askest naught from man except the things that good men hate—the whip, the chain, the dungeon key. Thou hast no popes, no priests, who stand between their fellow-men and thee. Thou carest not for foolish forms, or selfish prayers. At thy sacred shrine hypocrisy does not bow, virtue does not tremble, superstition's feeble tapers do not burn, but Reason holds aloft her inextinguishable torch whose holy light will one day flood the world."

CHAPTER XXIX

The Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Address

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Members of the University,
Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me at once say how deeply grateful I am to you for the honour you have done me by asking me to address you at this Convocation—an honour which I appreciate all the more because my association with this University has been only nominal and my services to it absolutely nil. I know you have been truly generous to me, for a few years ago you spontaneously conferred on me a degree which I feel I had done nothing to deserve. I also realise that in asking me to deliver this address you have shown a spirit of tolerance well worthy of a house of learning for no one is more conscious than I am of an inherent vice in me. I have been practically all my life a dissenter—a non-conformist—in the domain of religious and political orthodoxy—in short an intellectual individualist who has been suffered more than he had any right to expect.

After a frank confession like this, let me tell you that my non-conformity has not stood in the way of my appreciation of the noble ideals which have inspired the founders of this great institution and which are so earnestly cherished by them in their daily work—ideals which also actuate its teachers and which, I

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sincerely hope, are sedulously striven after by the thousands of young men who have been privileged to imbibe the spirit of their *Alma Mater* in the most formative part of their lives.

Of the founders of this University several have left the scene of their earthly activities. They, however, live in our memory. There are some whom we can never forget and to whom we can never pay our debt of gratitude. The great name of Mrs. Annie Besant, the founder of the Central Hindu College, which was the nucleus of this University, will occur to every one. Not a Hindu by birth, she became a Hindu by choice and summed up in her life all that is best in Hindu philosophy and Hindu thought, and became to many of us, even to those like me who never accepted her as a religious or spiritual guide, a beacon-light in the still and afterwards stormy waters of politics. Then, there comes back to my mind the figure of Sir Sunder Lal—a name honoured in law and in many other departments of life besides—but above all for his practical gifts, unbending rectitude, unquestionable personal integrity and unadvertised benevolence. Not many men of this generation know how more than 25 years ago he willingly placed his unrivalled talents at the disposal of this University, how he prepared the outlines of the legislation which now governs it, how he removed the suspicions which in those far-off days clouded the minds

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of those in power at Delhi and Simla, how he conquered all opposition, how he piloted the Benares University Bill and thus made it possible for this University to be born. That is a name which I have always held in the highest veneration. I could easily multiply other names—names of generous benefactors from among Princes and commoners—but I refrain. But there is one name, the bearer of which is happily with us and that is a name which will always remain imperishable in the annals of this University. Bent with the weight of 80 years but possessed of a heart, which still beats in unison with every call of duty, and a head, that is constantly thinking of how best to promote the abiding interests of the country and particularly of this University—his fondest child—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's presence in our midst must be a source of inspiration to every one of us. A living example of what faith in one's ideals can achieve, in him you can see that most rare of things—a well-proportioned combination of lofty idealism and practical realism so far as this University is concerned. I am sure I am voicing the sentiments of every one in this gathering and of the entire Hindu community when I say that it is our earnest wish and prayer that he may be spared to us and to this University for many years to come.

You will perhaps permit me now to say how

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difficult I find my task on this occasion to be. During the last several years my services have been requisitioned by several Universities to deliver convocation addresses. It may be that when a man has reached my years it is perhaps presumed that he must have an inexhaustible fund of platitudes. It is, however, forgotten that there is not much room for platitudes left in the make-up of a case-hardened lawyer who has daily to deal more with the seamy side of life than with the bright. I sometimes think that the time has come when Indian Universities should seriously think as to whether they could not dispense with ceremonial addresses on occasions of this character.

There is, as I have just said, a ceremonial side to our convocations, but as I view the whole matter, it seems to me that their serious side is of far greater consequence, for while on the one hand your alumni come to take leave of you after their five years' stay under your fostering care and protection and you send them out declaring to the world that they have earned recognition at your hands, they enter the bigger University of the World after leaving your portals without knowing how the world is going to treat them. The bigger University of life, into which they are about to enter, has its own tests. I assume that you have endowed them with certain intellectual and moral gifts, that you have unfolded before

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them the meandering tale of humanity, its triumphs and failures, its appreciation, howsoever fragmentary, of truth, its failure to avoid error, its conquest of nature, its advancement in knowledge, science and civilisation, and its relapses into savagery and barbarism. The young men, therefore, whom you are sending out today, deserve your best sympathy and support. At the same time you too are entitled to expect that the mental and moral equipment, with which you are launching them into the uncharted seas of life, may be their shield and protection against those perils which are awaiting them.

I am rather anxious to speak of those perils and speak of them with absolute candour. I have a very vivid recollection of my college days in the early nineties of the last century. The Calcutta University had been established in 1858, the Allahabad University had followed in 1887, and by the nineties of the last century the process of leavening up had been sufficiently long at work in Northern India. On the intellectual side the creed of many of us in those days was summed up in the famous lines of Tennyson :

Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let
us range.

Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves
of change.

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Thro' the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger
day :

Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.

We in these Provinces had cut ourselves adrift from our old moorings. Sanskrit learning, except perhaps in this holy city, was at its nadir and if ever we cared to know what our ancient forefathers thought or said on matters of human interest, we placed our hands on the bookshelves of a library to pick out the ponderous volumes of the orientalist of the West, the most popular among them being Max Muller. Occasionally the earnest among us satisfied our conscience and 'national' pride by acquainting ourselves with the writings of Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitter. We found some of them very pleasing, particularly so when they fed our pride as Hindus, and some of us took Max Muller far too seriously and imagined to ourselves that the last word in human wisdom had been uttered by our forefathers. If that was the state of education in Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu were taught to us in the traditional style of the middle ages, but the poetry of the 'nightingale' and the 'rose' and the stories of love-lorn Lela and Majnoon, and Yusuf and Zulekha were beginning to be ousted by Shelley, Keats, Byron, Wordsworth and Tennyson. Ghalib had not come into his own and Iqbal's voice had not yet been heard. There were others whose emancipated intellect

brushed aside all that black learning with a smile and assumed that our misguided ancestors lived more in a world, which was far too crowded with things of the spirit and too detached from the reality of matter. In short, we had the self-assurance of youth reinforced by a supreme ignorance of our past. The light that came from the West was far too dazzling for us. We knew something of or about the great scientists of the West, particularly those of England, scientists whose inventions or discoveries had led to the growth and development of industrial life of the West and given birth to that capitalism in the defence of which a part of the mad world and for the destruction of which another part of the same mad world are flying at each other's throat today. This science too, we realised, had given it mastery of the seas and established the political domination of the restless West over the stagnant and slumbering continents of Asia and Africa. Apart from the influence of scientists, which unsettled our minds so much in those far-off days, I can recall the all-pervading influence of Edmund Burke, and particularly of John Stuart Mill, John Morley and Herbert Spencer on our minds. John Stuart Mill's essays on Liberty, on the Freedom of Woman and Representative Government were our political Bibles. You could question them only at the risk of being accused by your contemporaries of unforgivable heresy. Describing the state of

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mind of the 'Eminent Victorians', who lived and moved in those days, of which John Morley was a type, Mr. Churchill says in his 'Great Contemporaries'

A varied but select society, observing in outward forms a strict, conventional morality, advanced its own culture, and was anxious to spread its amenities ever more widely through the nation. A sense of safety, a pride in the rapidly opening avenues of progress, a confidence that boundless blessings would reward political wisdom and civic virtue, was the accepted basis upon which the eminent Victorians lived and moved. Can we wonder? Every forward step was followed by swiftly reaped advantages: the wider the franchise, the more solid the State; the fewer the taxes, the more abundant the revenue: the freer the entry of goods into the island, the more numerous and richer were the markets gained abroad. To live soberly then, to walk demurely in the sunshine of fortune, to shun external adventures, to avoid entangling commitments, to enforce frugality upon Governments, to liberate the native genius of the country, to let wealth fructify in the pockets of the people, to open a career broadly and freely to the talents of every class, these were the paths so clearly marked, so smooth, so easy of access, and it was wise and pleasant to tread them.

John Morley's serenity of mind and faith in the permanence of the state of society, which has been depicted in the above passage by Mr. Churchill, was rudely shaken by the 'entrance' of Great Britain into the world war though he had already failed to draw the right conclusions

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from the successful challenge which Japan, an Asiatic country, had for the first time thrown to Russia. Nevertheless it must be admitted that he was true to his convictions. The state of Victorian society and its mental make-up, which Mr. Churchill has painted, is perhaps not wholly true of England today, but the point to note is that although we, in India, lived 6,000 miles away from England, we accepted the ideals of Victorian society in England as unchangeable postulates. We hankered after them, and wondered at first that they could not be reproduced in India. Of course all this is true only of the intelligentsia of those days, that is to say, that section of the intelligentsia which had come under the spell of the West. The rest of the population knew nothing of these stirrings in the throbbing minds of the young men of those days. It worshipped its gods, as our ancestors had done before, it followed its customs and usages, it hated modernism in thought and conduct, and it reconciled itself to its fate whenever things went wrong with it.

While this was the state of our society, say 50 or 60 years ago, influences came into being simultaneously, which cannot, and in my opinion should not, be ignored. If the Bramho Samaj—earlier in date—made a limited appeal to the intellectual classes in Bengal, the Arya Samaj under the inspiring personality of Swami

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Daya Nand made an appeal to a larger section of people in Northern India and certain other parts, I am not called upon to discuss its principles. It is enough for me to point out that being a protestant movement it threw a challenge to immobile orthodoxy and thus came into conflict with the conservative elements. It also came into conflict, as it was bound to, with certain proselytising creeds. Nevertheless its influence on the vast masses of Hindu society was deep and extensive. While on the one hand there were people who looked upon it not merely as a reformist body but as a body aiming at revolutionising certain cherished beliefs and practices, on the other hand there were others who denounced it as a revivalist body. In fairness to it, it must, however, be confessed even by those who were and have been critical of it from one point of view or the other, that its work in the social and educational fields has been of immense value to the country. In any case it was the first organised movement which apart from its religious fervour aimed at social service. Simultaneously, or almost simultaneously with it, came into existence a new school of thought represented by the Theosophical Society, and I very well remember the time when those amongst us who thought that India was fast moving away from its ancient moorings, sought refuge in occultism and esoteric doctrines and worked as a brotherhood under the leadership of men and women

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born in the West, who were in revolt against the "materialism" of Europe and found a solace in the spiritualism of the East. It was, and has been, I think, primarily a movement of the intellectual classes. Nevertheless it must be admitted even by its critics that its work also in social and educational fields has by no means been negligible. Indeed more positive language may be used and it may fairly be said that in a way it led to the establishment of this University and many other educational institutions in the country and to the revival of much of our forgotten culture. Other religious and social reformers sprang up. I shall not refer to them in detail but shall content myself by saying that no true historian of Hindu society can ignore or minimise the influence which Paramhansa Ram Krishna, Swami Vivekananda or Swami Ram Tirtha produced on subsequent developments.

In short, in the spiritual and intellectual spheres of life there were half a century ago or more two influences at work: one obviously western in its origin and the other equally obviously eastern. While this was happening a new movement, professedly political, also came into birth and that was the Indian National Congress, but here again let me point out to you, what is apt to be forgotten by men of this generation, that the real father of this movement was an Englishman—Allan Octavius

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Hume, a member of the Indian Civil Service—and in this I shall be borne out by one of the few survivors from among his first apostles—I refer to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It attracted to itself from the very beginning a large and growing number of the intellectual and professional classes, men who had drunk deep of the political wisdom of Edmund Burke, Thomas Babbington Macaulay, John Bright, John Stuart Mill, John Morley and William Ewart Gladstone. Among the early fathers of the National Congress you will find many English names, now almost forgotten by the present generation but still revered by men of my generation. They were the first pioneers of that love of freedom which is now the common heritage of us all, but in those days the Congress spoke with bated breath. It asked for and it appealed for the gradual introduction and development of representative institutions, the establishment of simultaneous examinations for the Imperial services in India, the larger association of Indians with Government in the actual task of administration, and things of that kind. It was described by Lord Dufferin as a microscopic minority. It was ignored first, ridiculed next and openly suspected later. It was bound to come into conflict with those in authority. It maintained that it had the right to interpret the minds of the people correctly, it claimed that it knew on what lines people were thinking, what they were aspiring

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after, what they approved of and what they did not. The claim of the Congress to be representative of the people was absolutely denied in those days. It waited and waited, it sent its deputations to England, it carried on its agitation in India mostly among the educated classes until a time arrived when in this very city of Benares it held a session over which one of the wisest and most far-sighted leaders of that generation presided—I refer to Gopal Krishna Gokhale. It was then that it demanded a constitution similar to those of the self-governing colonies or dominions and from that moment forward a new chapter was opened in our political life. A year later the great Dadabhai Naoroji presided over the Calcutta Congress and for the first time he put forward the demand for ‘Swaraj’. What did this word mean? To demand Swaraj was in those days held in official circles to be a crime—the crime of sedition. It is interesting to recall at this distance of time that the matter seriously engaged the attention of two learned Judges of the Calcutta High Court, namely Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra and Mr. Justice Fletcher. A Conference had met at Khulna. A certain speaker had asked for Swaraj, which expression was translated officially as an ‘independent government’. The speaker was then bound down under section 118 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. He then moved the High Court, and I shall give you here just a short extract

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from the report of this case. In the course of arguments the following observations were exchanged between the Bench and the Bar:—

Mitra J—What is the exact word used ?

Mr. White—(Deputy Legal Remembrancer)—
Swaraj.

Mitra J—What does it mean ?

Mr. White—Your Lordship can say it better,
but I understand it means to
remove the Government.

Mitra J—If that be its meaning, then no editor
or writer here is safe. It cannot
mean that.

Mr. White—But is it not the hope of a parti-
cular political party in India ?

Mitra J—Every Indian likes to have Swaraj,
meaning Home Rule.

Mr. White—They may hope so, and there is no
harm in that.

Fletcher J—If it means the Colonial form of
Government, it is a legitimate
aspiration of the people.

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Mr. Jackson (Counsel for the accused)—The literal meaning of the word is self-government—‘swa’ means ‘self’ and ‘raj’ means ‘government’. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji initiated the word in his speech as President of the last Calcutta Congress.

Mitra J—Speaking for myself I can say that the word was used by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in the sense of ‘self-government’, and is being translated in the Bengali language in the same sense.

Ultimately in their judgment the Court held that it meant Home Rule but that self-government would not necessarily mean the exclusion of the present government or independence. It may mean, as it is well understood, government by the people themselves under the King and under British sovereignty. The word, therefore, stood the challenge that was thrown to it in a court of law. It was not, however, until 1921 that it received the imprimatur of approval from the highest quarter, for in His Royal message to the Indian Legislature through the Duke of Connaught His Majesty observed as follows:—

For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. Today you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire ; and widest scope

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and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.

But the year 1921 marked the beginning of a new chapter altogether in our contemporary history. The Congress then adopted a new ideal or objective—different perhaps from that which Mr. Justice Mitra said the word 'Swaraj' implied. We broke away from the traditional methods of work, new cries came into vogue; a new situation arose under a new leadership. There were defections from its ranks, but the loss was more than made up by the huge accession to its strength. The movement was then sought to be made a mass movement and it did become that to a great extent. The thinking was done by the few, and the enthusiasm was furnished, as always happens in such cases, by the many. We were told that new ethical weapons must be forged for our political battles. Whether the cries or the methods were really new or were a revival of old ones, is a question on which opinion may well differ, but they caught the fancy of the masses. One thing, however, is certain and that is that under the new orientation of nationalism—an assertive and defiant nationalism—suffering or the readiness to suffer was considered as the most powerful and effective weapon and the acid test of patriotism. Western methods of life, at least Western methods of dress, the use of the English language in

our political work came to be decried. For a time, but only for a short time, the Hindus and the Mohamedans seemed to embrace each other. It did not, however, take long before differences grew among us. If even unity of ideals could be claimed at that time, it was plain that there was a great diversity of methods of approach to those ideals. For once an open challenge seemed to have been thrown to the West. I say 'seemed' because it did not take the West long before it regained its ascendancy over our minds. Victorian Liberalism, we were assured, was dead, and something new had to be installed in its place. Again that something new came from the West. We dethroned John Stuart Mill, John Morley and every other god of that pantheon from their high pedestals. We replaced them by Karl Marx and Lenin. London began to lose its hold and Moscow began to cast its spell over us. Man came to be looked upon essentially as an economic being and if the economic basis of our life could be changed in India, we were told the gates of paradise would be within sight. There was, however, nothing peculiar to India in all this. The West itself was during this period pitifully torn by conflicting loyalties to divergent creeds and such is the ascendancy of the West over the Indian mind that the cries and the slogans, which rent the welkin in the West, were re-echoed in India. As Lord Bryce says of the West in his "Modern Democracies":

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"The other new factor (within Europe) is the emergence of a doctrine primarily economic but in its consequences political, and embodying itself in the project of eliminating those sections of the community which either possess wealth or are earning it otherwise than by manual labour, so as to create and thenceforth maintain a uniformity of material conditions, perhaps along with the prohibition of private property."

I myself saw something of this conflict of ideas during my repeated visits to Europe and contacts with different people there during the eight or ten years preceding the war. Shortly before the war I was in France and some other countries of Europe. As a foreigner it would be imprudent, if not audacious, on my part to express any dogmatic opinions on those countries, but from what I saw in Germany a year or two before the war, I can say that it did not come to me as a surprise that in 1939 war broke out in Europe, involving practically the whole of the world; nor did it come to me as a surprise that France fell after a few weeks' struggle. Those impressions have been further strengthened in my case by some of the books that have recently come out, particularly the book by Andre Maurois, which vividly describes the condition of things in France during the invasion.

The thoughtful among you are bound to ask yourselves some searching questions. What is going to be the future of the civilisation

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of the West? Is it going to be a perpetual fight between one 'ism' and another 'ism', between one theory and another, between one set of ideas and another? Is humanity going to be bled to death and civilisation going to disappear because the genius of scientists and the untold wealth of Western countries has invented, or is inventing, diabolical machines which can bring us only the peace of the grave? Were our ancestors, at whose ignorance we often marvel, less happy than we are today? If Europe has got to make a choice today between rival theories, must we also necessarily make the same choice? If the independence of the warring countries in the West, which have for centuries, or at any rate for a very long time, enjoyed complete freedom within their borders, can be trampled under feet within a few weeks in the case of some and a few months in the case of others, what is going to happen to that independence which we are aspiring after? Can non-violence be our shield against a ruthless aggressor who believes, or affects to believe that he has a mission from God or from anti-God? Must we copy civilized Europe in organising violence for suppressing the freedom of others who want to think their own thoughts and live their own lives? Must humanity be cast everywhere in every clime and country into the same mould? Must human thought and conduct be standardised everywhere? There are many more questions

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which I could suggest for your consideration. It would be presumptuous on my part to answer any one of those questions dogmatically but I do suggest that at a critical juncture like this there must be some men in the country, who should consider it their duty to apply their minds to these questions and to enlighten their less-knowing countrymen. Am I indulging in vain hope when I say that again for these 'some men', we must look to our Universities ?

Speking of the Universities of the West in the early part of the nineteenth century a learned American writer says :—

The Universities of the period were not only scientific but also political centres. By fostering national sentiments they played a significant role in the political evolution of the various countries. German universities, such as Berlin and Breslau, led the nationalistic movement during the War of Liberation (1813-14); their professors and students through organisations such as the *Burschenschaft* educated the general public politically and spread the idea of national unity.....Guizot, Cousin and Villemain in Paris aided in the liberalisation of French politics...Spanish universities were instrumental for the downfall of Napoleon and in the spreading of liberal doctrines. Copenhagen and Christiania (now Oslo) universities were centres of Danish and Norwegian nationalism, Warsaw and Vilna of Polish and Pest of Hungarian. Moscow, Kazan, Kharkov, St. Petersburg and Kiev promoted Slavic studies and were the nuclei of intellectual as well as political pan-Slavism.

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I have often wondered whether our Universities are discharging this function in the manner in which they should. There is a cultural and an intellectual side to our national movement in the development and guidance of which the Universities can play a great, honourable, and enduring part. To be absolutely frank with you I do not look upon it as a contribution to the clearing and development of political ideas or the strengthening of the national movement that we should hear so much of strikes in our Universities and Colleges, or that the generous sentiments and the unbounded energy of our youth—the future workers and leaders—should be dissipated in the repetition of party slogans or the performance of peripatetic exercises necessarily involved in processions of protest. I might have been more discreet and kept silent, but I know that my fate for uttering these words cannot be worse than that of stout-hearted leaders like Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Satyamurti.

Speaking for myself I have no hesitation in saying that I should expect our Universities to become the emporiums or clearing houses of our political ideas. I can fairly say that I have kept in touch with the output of our Universities, but if I may speak with absolute candour, I think that excepting in very rare instances I have not seen much evidence of any effort to approach the problems that are

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awaiting solution in a dispassionate spirit. It is unfortunate that this should be so, for while party has its use in practical politics, subservience to it on the part of those who profess to guide us has a blighting influence on their minds and the minds of those whom they wish to enlighten. It has often seemed to me that we pay a lip homage to the idea of nationalism and democracy, and wittingly or unwittingly we have been submitting to the autocracy of certain ideas and certain slogans. Nationalism in Europe was said to have sprung from the loins of the French Revolution. Essentially it was geographical, it then became an ethnic phenomenon until it became clear that "the natural goal of every national movement is the creation, maintenance and increase in power of a national state". From the evils of nationalism in Europe—and they are and have been freely emphasised by its critics—people have sought refuge in internationalism and today in Europe you have all these ideas in the melting pot with the result that you hear more of the New Order than of "nationalism" or "internationalism". So devious is human history that Democracy, nationalism and internationalism having for the moment received the sentence of death, the will of a single man or of the chosen few among his followers must be imposed upon all men and all countries. Whatever be the evils of "Nationalism" in Europe I think nationalism is a necessity with us and before we think

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of inter-nationalism or the New Order or the Federation of the world, I think we must allow nationalism a fair chance in our own country. Its task may be less ambitious than it was in Europe; nevertheless it is more important in so far as it has got to surmount difficulties and barriers which are peculiar to us. The peculiar mission of nationalism in India, with its different religious creeds and different languages, should be to federate different sections of the community giving them full freedom in matters that affect them peculiarly but harnessing them all to the service of the common land. Nationalism in India must seek not to supersede old cultures but to supplement them by a common culture and a system of life to germinate and foster those ideas which alone can secure the integrity of the country and its unimpeded progress.

What then is the part which we are entitled to expect the Universities to play in the development of our national life? First and foremost, I submit, we should expect our Universities not merely to impart education in modern sciences and different branches of knowledge, but to bring about a synthesis of Indian culture. I use the word 'culture' in its largest sense. I should like our young men to remember that Indian culture is a variegated mosaic and indeed it would be difficult to claim for any culture in the world that in the course

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of its development it had not been influenced by other cultures. I have always maintained that while it is correct to say that there is such a thing as Hindu philosophy and such a thing as Muslim philosophy it is absurd to maintain in the year 1941 that there is such a thing as a purely Hindu culture, and such a thing as a purely Muslim culture. As time has gone on in our history there has been a remarkable blending and fusion of the original Hindu culture, with that culture, which is popularly called the Muslim culture but which is clearly traceable to countries like Persia and to a certain extent Arabia, with the result that at least in Northern India during the last three hundred years or more a mixed common culture has grown up which may truly be said to be 'Indian culture'. It may be that among the Hindus, elements of Hindu thought and Hindu philosophy and Hindu mode of life may predominate; it may equally be that among the Muslims, the elements of Muslim thought and Muslim philosophy and Muslim mode of life may predominate; nevertheless the mixture of the two and its existence as a single entity cannot be denied and in my opinion it would neither be wise nor patriotic to do anything to destroy this common culture and for the Hindus to substitute for it an unadulterated Hindu culture and for the Muslims to substitute for it an unadulterated Muslim culture. Remember also that the last two hundred years of association

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with the West have also profoundly affected our mode of thinking and even our mode of life. As your distinguished Vice-chancellor has said in a recent book of his with that detachment, which is characteristic of a philosopher,

“Today the whole world is in fusion and all is in motion. East and West are fertilising each other, not for the first time. May we not strive for a philosophy which will combine the best of European humanism and Asiatic religion, a philosophy profounder and more living than either, endowed with greater spiritual and ethical force, which will conquer the hearts of men and compel peoples to acknowledge its sway ?”

Again at another place in the same book, ‘Eastern Religions and Western Thought’ which due to his kindness I have lately been reading, our philosopher Vice-Chancellor observes as follows :—

“Science cannot minister to the needs of the soul ; dogmatism cannot meet the needs of the intellect. Atheism and dogmatism, scepticism and blind faith, are not the only alternatives. They are the twin fruits on the same branch, the positive and negative poles of the same tendency. We cannot combat the one without combating the other. In the battle-fields of Spain we find massacre, arson, despotic control. Both sides are as ruthless in their action, in their war of creeds, in their determination to stamp out the bestial thing—Marxist atheism or dogmatic Christianity. Is it a matter for surprise that some people believe that a malignant demon sat by the cradle of the unfortunate human race ?

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We require a religion which is both scientific and humanistic. Religion, science, and humanism were sisters in ancient India ; they were allies in Greece. They must combine today if we are to attract all those who are equally indifferent to organised religion and atheism, to supernaturalism and nihilism. We need a spiritual home, where we can live without surrendering the rights of reason or the needs of humanity. Reverence for truth is a moral value. It is dearer than Buddha or Jesus. Truth is opposed, not to reason or the Greek spirit, but to dogma and fossilized tradition. We cannot rest the case of religion any more on dogmatic supernaturalism."

Next I suggest that the one great service which our Universities can render to the country, is that they may encourage and foster among those who are committed to their charge, those habits of thought and conduct which alone can be the true foundation of a true democracy. Again as Lord Bryce says :

"Democracy assumes not merely intelligence, but an intelligence elevated by honour, purified by sympathy, stimulated by a sense of duty to the community. It relies on the people to discern these qualities and choose its leaders by them."

It is remarkable that in this matter the views of this philosopher-statesman of England should coincide with those of Sir Radhakrishnan. "The future of democracy", says Lord Bryce, "is a part of two larger branches

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of enquiry, the future of religion and the prospects of human progress." I shall beg you to compare this wise observation of Lord Bryce with that of Sir Radhakrishnan, which I have quoted above. Perhaps you will excuse a man of my way of thinking if he may venture most heartily to emphasise what Sir Radhakrishnan has, in his inimitable language, spoken of as the "opposition of truth to dogma and fossilized tradition.

The greatest need perhaps of Indian democracy, that is yet to be, is leadership. It is inevitable in conditions, such as we are witnessing today in our country, that our thoughts should often be running on sectional or party lines and in the clash of ideas that we notice in the country, there should be not only conflict between one community and another but between one party and another. In the midst of this clash there is nothing more easy for each party and each community than to assume that it is or at least it represents the entire nation, or that it constitutes a separate nation. We sometimes delude ourselves with superficial historical analogies. When we are quarrelling on the question of Indian languages, we refer to the multiplicity of languages in Switzerland and South Africa, if we do not do worse. We justify outbursts of religious intolerance by pointing to certain chapters in the history of other countries and we always take care to

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point out that it is the presence of the 'third party' and its machiavellian machinations, which are far more responsible than our own conduct, our own omissions, our own failings, for that spirit of disunity, which is at the present moment disfiguring our public life. I do not propose to examine the truth of any one of these justifying pleas. Let it be granted that each one of them is true and valid, but I cannot help thinking that we have allowed our pride and our prejudices to stand in our way. If we know that there are some scheming people about, who think that their chance lies in our continued disunity, why do we play their game? Why can we not rise superior to these conditions? It seems to me that if we want to establish a really democratic state of society and government, we need not paralyse our whole activity merely because we cannot attain perfection immediately, or adopt a system which would stand the test of the most fastidious conformist to the fundamentals of western democracy. We must, therefore, look to a new kind of leadership in place of that which begins and ends with party supremacy. Again, if I may be permitted to quote Lord Bryce :

"The predominance of Party in democracies has made us, when we talk of leadership, think primarily of the militant function of the general who directs a political campaign and bears, like the champions in ancient warfare, the brunt of battle in his own person. But the best kind of leader has a duty to the whole people as well

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as to his party. If he is in power, he must think first of the national welfare ; if he is in opposition he has nevertheless the responsibility of directing the minds and the wills of a large section of the people, and of aiding or resisting the policy of the Administration. In both cases his actions as well as his views and arguments and exhortations. have weight with the whole nation for good or for evil."

I do not expect general agreement with these views. Some of these, I fear, may be described as mere platitudes, they may even be condemned as intolerable heresies, but I hold very strongly that the Universities must recognise their responsibility in providing the type of leaders, who feel that they owe duty to the whole people and not merely to their party, for I fear at the present moment the nation has receded in the background and party is occupying the forefront. Even if I am told by some that my whole argument rests on the false assumption that there is already a nation *in esse*, I shall not demur to that criticism, but I shall venture to say that if the nation is not an accepted fact, yet the necessity of its creation in the future must be recognised by all unless, of course, we have made up our minds that India must in future consist of a loosely united congeries of different communities, actuated by different ideals and impelled by different urges. To achieve this object we shall have to learn the supreme lesson of compromise in politics—a lesson to which all human history bears witness,

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a lesson which, when forgotten, has led to disastrous results in the history of humanity. Summing up the career of Julius Cæsar, Mommsen says in a remarkable passage in his "History of Rome" :

"Caesar is, in fine, perhaps the only one of those mighty men, who has preserved to the end of his career the statesman's tact of discriminating between the possible and the impossible, and has not broken down in the task which for nobly gifted natures is the most difficult of all—the task of recognising when on the pinnacle of success, its natural limits. What was possible he performed and left the possible good undone for the sake of the impossible better, never disdained at least to mitigate by palliatives evils that were incurable." If you want to be convinced of the soundness of the principles which guided Julius Caesar, compare the Rome of his time with the Rome of the time of Mussolini. It is for the cultivation of some such spirit among your alumni that I earnestly plead.

"A political institution" so said a great English statesman once, "is a machine; the motive power is the national character. With that it rests, whether the machine will benefit society, or destroy it. Society in this country (by which he meant England) is perplexed, almost paralysed; in time it will move, and it will devise. How are the elements of the nation to be blended again together? In what spirit is that reorganisation to take place?" How this

description of the England of three generations back is true of India today is a matter for you to consider. The main questions, therefore, which must engage the attention of all thoughtful men are those formulated by Disraeli. How are the elements of the 'nation' to be blended together in India? In what spirit is that reorganisation to take place? These are questions which can easily be answered by enthusiastic party politicians according to their lights, but their answers will not, I fear, lead to a solution which may plant our feet on the road to uninterrupted progress. They have, I fear, failed to do so until the present moment. Each one of the parties can justify itself in the light of the axioms which it has adopted or prescribed for itself, but from a national point of view, I fear, each one of those parties is as far off today from the solution of our problems as it was 10 years ago or more. Perhaps we are further away. We want, we say, an absolutely free Constitution. I agree that that constitution should be the constitution of a fully free and self-governing country, but the real problem is not about the ideal but as to the method of attaining that ideal, or at least making the nearest possible approach to it. It is again a tribute to the supremacy of the hold of the West on our minds that some of us will not be happy unless all the features of the constitution of England are reproduced in our future constitution. It is also a tribute to the supremacy

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of the hold of another part of the West that others will not be happy with the British model. The constitution which will make them happy must bear more or less the impress of Russia or something like it. Time is fleeting and no one can feel sure what the future has in store for Russia or for us, and yet I feel that at this juncture our learned professors may do worse than rescue themselves from party slogans and shibboleths, study the realities of the situation, the possibilities and the impossibilities of a particular line of advance, which we cannot ignore excepting at our own peril, and enable us by their wisdom and dispassionate judgment, by the results of their study, to see the light. Perhaps they alone can furnish the material for the practical statesman—the statesman of whom Napoleon once said that “his heart should be in his head”. I am deliberately refraining from going into the intricacies of the various problems which confront you, but I am only begging that the learned among you may justify their existence, as Universities in the West have done in epochs of national ferment by battling against the forces of darkness, prejudice and passion.

Today you have certain practical issues waiting for solution and I venture to make a few suggestions for your Department of Politics. We have been told authoritatively that it is for Indians to frame a Constitution. If we have to

frame such a Constitution, let us be serious about it. The spade work must be done by men who have the time and leisure and above all a thorough knowledge of our country and also of the constitutions of other countries. In our case if political power is to drift into Indian hands, it is clear to my mind that it cannot be reposed into the hands of the few. The ultimate responsibility must be owed to the country at large. This being so, I assume that democracy, *i. e.*, a form of government in which those who will actually administer our affairs shall in the last resort hold themselves responsible to the will of the many, is the only alternative before us. The basis, however, of such a government must be popular franchise. There are some among us who think that the franchise should be widened—widened to the extent of its becoming ‘adult franchise’. There are others who look upon the existing franchise as solely or mainly responsible for those evils, real or fancied, which, they say, have followed in the train of the Constitution of 1935. It has been suggested in some quarters that we must turn from the existing system to the system of ‘functional representation’. The subject of functional representation, examined in its historical aspect in countries of the West from the time of the Middle Ages, as interpreted and emphasised under Guild Socialism in France, Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and Socialism or Communism in Russia, is one of

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fascinating interest—not without its lessons and warnings, to us all. It is for you to come to your own independent conclusion though I confess that such study as I have been able to make of it, has convinced me that nothing can be more disastrous to the growth of democratic ideas in India than the adoption of this system. Similarly broad hints have been given in high quarters that perhaps a system of irremovable executive will suit us better than the system under which Ministers have got to depend upon popular vote and party strength. Again I say the question requires careful study and it will be for your professors to tell us whether it is possible for us to adopt the American Presidential System, or the Swiss System, or any other similar system, or whether none of these systems will suit the conditions of India. Similarly in any serious attempt to study the problems of constitution you will be called upon to do more deep thinking about the problems of defence of India. The present war has already shown that the methods of defence adopted hitherto are out-of-date and that instead of India being exposed to danger only at its North-West frontier, it is exposed to dangers of a serious character practically on all sides. We cannot assume that because we do not mean to pick up a quarrel with any other nation in the world, we need have no fear now or in future of any danger from outside. The world does not consist of, and has never consisted of 'angels',

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though I believe angels too were in the habit of quarrelling among themselves, and there are plenty of such angels today in human form almost everywhere in the world, with more than one ambitious arch-angel, anxious to establish his own new order. In studying problems of defence you are bound to come up against problems of industries, and if the present situation is borne in mind, we can only come to one conclusion and that is that the dissociation of industrial development in our country from the problems of defence by those who were in power has brought them and us to the very brink of danger. I do not know what is really at the back of the minds of those who often talk to us from across the seas with pontifical authority about our future. I cannot say whether they want really that India should stand on her legs in future in every department of life, including defence, or whether the freedom of India shall be more or less a replica of the freedom of Egypt with all the weakness of its position, as it has been demonstrated in our own times. I do not deny that Lord Milner was a great statesman, but I maintain that history has proved that Lord Durham and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman were greater ones, and speaking for myself I should like something of their spirit to be introduced in place of the Milner spirit. Lastly, and this perhaps will be the most important subject for your study, will be the question of the Mino-

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rities. There is perhaps no one more anxious than I am for a genuine, honest and honourable settlement with the Minorities but it may be for those among you who may apply their minds to this subject, to tell us how best we can proceed to achieve that end. You will have to disentangle this problem from those knots which have been tied up in recent years by false assumptions, false reading of history and prejudices and passions. The problem is one of infinite difficulty, but I maintain that in the handling of one other problem is there greater necessity for a spirit of genuine compromise. Again do not forget that the integrity of India can never be secured and you can never have a truly national government unless and until you have found a place in your system for that one-third part of it which is represented by the Indian States. Not many years ago I was hoping that we were within sight of a solution even though that solution had its imperfections. I am still not without hope that some solution may be found, but I warn you that the problem is one of great complexity and will make the largest demand on your patience, on your judgment and on your statesmanship. Mere theoretical discussions about 'sovereignty' or 'equality of conditions and rights' will, I fear, not help you. The problem should, in my opinion, be approached from a strictly practical and realistic point of view. In short, I suggest that our present task should be to prepare the frame-

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work of the Constitution, leaving it to experience and the varying necessities of the future to strengthen and improve the superstructure that we may raise now. In all this task the learned and the thoughtful among our University men can render inestimable service and I do, therefore, suggest that under the wise guidance of your Vice-Chancellor your Department of Politics may at once begin to study all these problems in the spirit in which they should be in the calm and serene atmosphere of a University.

I am afraid I have already exceeded the limits which I had prescribed for myself when I commenced this address. If instead of venturing to discuss educational problem, which I know can be better discussed by educationists of repute and experience among you, or referring to the question of unemployment among the educated classes—a subject in which I have been much interested and on which I have written or spoken on other platforms—I have ventured to draw your attention to some of the current problems of the country and to the dangers looming ahead, it is only because I feel that you are keenly interested in them, as indeed you should be, and because I am anxious that some departments of your great University may make a valuable contribution to the elucidation of some political and constitutional ideas, not in the spirit of wrangling politicians eager to score dialectical victories but in that of earnest

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investigators of fact. The students themselves, to whom I am now going to address a few words, can take their proper part in this process of investigation. I have already said that it is the function of the University—and it is an obvious fact—to impart education to our young men and stimulate their latent intellectual faculties and tastes. There is, however, one appeal that I shall make to the students and that is that they should realise that their educational process does not end with the taking of their degrees at the University. It is only the beginning of a new chapter in their life. They must keep up their habits of study and must, on no account, allow their minds to rust. Unfortunately it is only too true that the habit of self-education and self-culture, which must mark every true man of culture throughout his life, is not sedulously cultivated by a large number of our graduates. I should like every young man and young woman present here to ask himself or herself one question at the end of each day in his or her life. How much have I learnt today? What addition to my store of knowledge have I made today? But more than that what is necessary is that you should cultivate the habit of balanced judgment in the practical affairs of life, learn to weigh the conflicting opinions that are placed before you, to correlate the theories of life, howsoever attractive they may appear in cold print, to the facts of life, and above all to cultivate a spirit

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of humility and avoid that snobbery, which is very often the mark of a person of little learning. If this is the advice that I am going to give you for your intellectual life, I shall only venture to suggest to you that there is a deeper life than mere intellectual life, and that is the spiritual and moral life in the truest sense of the word. In the actual affairs of life there will be many occasions on which you will be called upon to prove your fidelity to those principles which you have been taught here or which you will gather from books. Such occasions are the supreme tests of a man's moral vitality and I sincerely hope and trust that you may fully stand those tests. It is in the ordinary affairs of life, in your dealings with your friends and with your enemies, with your neighbours and strangers, and with others less happily circumstanced than you are, that you can show whether the principles which you have imbibed here have become a part and parcel of your life, and thus and thus alone can you justify the reputation of this great University. There is great wisdom in the old adage. "Every tree is known by the fruit it bears". Let the fruits of this University be such as will be its best title to glory.

